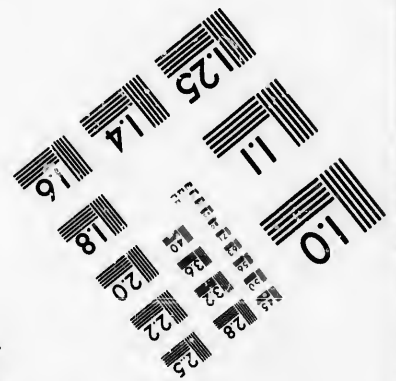
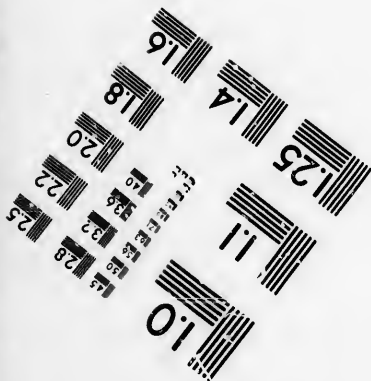
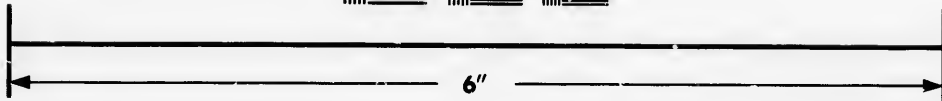
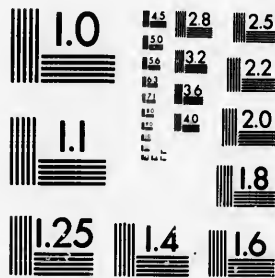


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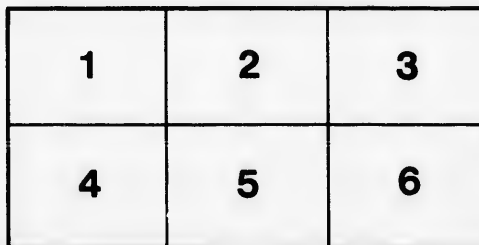
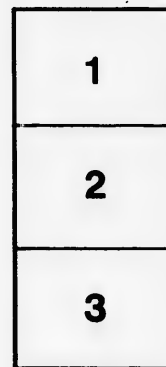
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Published by ORDER of the CONGRESS.



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A LIST OF THE

DELEGATES

Who attended the CONGRESS, held
at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775.

New-Hampshire.

Hon. Jn. Sullivan, Esq; | John Langdon, Esq.

Massachusetts-Bay.

Hon. Jn. Hancock, Esq; | John Adams, Esq;
Hon. Tho. Cushing, Esq; | Rob. Treat Paine, Esq;
Mr. Samuel Adams,

Rhode-Island.

Hon. Step. Hopkins, Esq; | Hon. Sam. Ward, Esq;

Connecticut.

Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, | Hon. Roger Sherman, Esq.
Esq; | Silas Deane, Esq;

New-York.

Philip Livingston, Esq; | Henry Wisner, Esq;
James Duane, Esq; | Philip Schuyler, Esq;
John Alsop, Esq; | George Clinton, Esq;
John Jay, Esq; | Lewis Morris, Esq;
Simon Boerum, Esq; | Francis Lewis, Esq;
William Floyd, Esq; | Rob. R. Livingston, Esq;

New-Jersey.

James Kinsey, Esq; | John D'Hart, Esq;
Stephen Crane, Esq; | Richard Smith, Esq;
Wm. Livingston, Esq;

Pennsylvania.

John Dickenson, Esq; | George Ross, Esq;
Thomas Mifflin, Esq; | Benj. Franklin, Esq;
Cha. Humphreys, Esq; | Tho. Willing, Esq;
John Morton, Esq; | James Wilson, Esq;

B

Lower

Lower Counties on Delaware.

Hon. *Cæsar Rodney*, Esq; | *George Read*, Esq;
Thomas M'Keane, Esq;

Maryland.

Hon. *Mat. Tilghman*, Esq; | *William Paca*, Esq;
Tho. Johnson, jun. Esq; | *Samuel Chase*, Esq;
Rob. Goldsborough, jun. Esq; | *John Hall*, Esq;
Esq; | *Thomas Stone*, Esq;

Virginia.

Hon. *Peyt. Randolph*, Esq; | *Edmund Pendleton*, Esq;
Geo. Washington, Esq; | *Benj. Harrison*, Esq;
Patrick Henry, Esq; | *Richard Bland*, Esq;
Rich. Henry Lee, Esq; | *Tho. Jefferson*, Esq;

North-Carolina.

William Hooper, Esq; | *Richard Caswell*, Esq;
Joseph Hewes, Esq;

South-Carolina.

Hon. *Henry Middleton*, Esq; | *Christ. Gadsden*, Esq;
Esq; | *John Rutledge*, Esq;
Thomas Lynch, Esq; | *Edward Rutledge*, Esq;

Parish of St. John's, in Georgia.

Lyman Hall, Esq.

JOURNAL, &c.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1775.

A Number of Delegates from the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware Counties, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, agreeable to their appointment and orders, received from their respective colonies, met at Philadelphia, and being convened in the State-House, proceeded to the choice of a President, when

Upon Motion, The Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH was unanimously chosen President.

After the President was seated,

Mr. Charles Thomson was unanimously chosen Secretary.

Andrew M'Neare was chosen Door-keeper, and William Shed, Messenger.

Agreed, That the Rev. Mr. Duché be requested to open the Congress with Prayers to-morrow morning; and that Mr. Willing, Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Bland, be a Committee to wait on Mr. Duché, and acquaint him with the request of the Congress. Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1775.

Agreeable to the order of yesterday, the Congress was opened with Prayers, by the Rev. Mr. Duché. After Prayers the Congress, according to adjournment, proceeded to business.

The Delegates from the several Colonies produced their respective credentials, which were read and approved, as follows :

New Hampshire. At the Convention of Deputies, appointed by the several towns in the province aforesaid, held at Exeter, on the 25th day of January, 1775.

The Hon. John Wentworth, Esq. in the Chair.

Voted, That John Sullivan and John Langdon, Esqrs. be delegated to represent this province in the Continental Congress, proposed to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, and that they and each of them, in the absence of the other, have full and ample power, in behalf of this province, to consent and agree to all measures, which said Congress shall deem necessary, to obtain redress of American grievances.

True copy attested,

MASHECK WEARE, *Clerk to the Convention.*

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in Provincial Congress, Cambridge, Dec. 5, 1774.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the American Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September last, and reported by the honourable Delegates from this Colony, have, with the deliberation due to their high importance, been considered by us, and the American Bill of Rights therein contained, appears to be formed with the greatest ability and judgment ; to be founded on the immutable laws of nature and reason, the principles of the English constitution, and respective charters and constitutions of the Colonies, and to be worthy of their most vigorous support, as essentially necessary to liberty ; likewise the ruinous and iniquitous measures, which in violation of these rights,

at

at present convulse and threaten destruction to America, appear to be clearly pointed out, and judicious plans adopted for defeating them.

Resolved, That the most grateful acknowledgements are due to the truly honourable and patriotic Members of the Continental Congress, for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American Liberty; and this Congress in their own names, and in behalf of this Colony, do hereby, with the utmost sincerity, express the same.

Resolved, That the Hon. John Hancock, Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esquires, Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, or any three of them, be, and they are hereby appointed and authorised to represent this Colony, on the 10th of May next, or sooner if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, with full power, with the Delegates from the other American Colonies, to concert, agree upon, direct and order such further measures, as shall to them appear to be best calculated for the recovery and establishment of American rights and liberties, and for restoring harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies.

A true copy of Record,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *Secretary.*

In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, Feb. 6, 1775.

Resolved, That the Hon. John Hancock, Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esquires, Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, appointed by the last Provincial Congress to represent this Colony, on the 10th of May next, or sooner if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, be, and they are hereby authorised and impowered, with the Delegates from
the

the other American Colonies, to adjourn from time to time, and place to place, as shall be judged necessary, and to continue in being as Delegates, for this Colony, until the 31st day of December, next ensuing, and no longer.

A true copy of Record,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *Secretary.*

In the House of Representatives of the Colony of Connecticut, November 3, A. D. 1774.

This House proceeded to nominate, chuse and appoint Delegates, to attend the General Congress to be holden at Philadelphia on the 10th day of May next, and made choice of the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Hon. Roger Sherman, Silas Deane, * Titus Hosmer, and * Jonathan Sturges, Esquires, to be their Delegates, any three of whom are authorized and impowered to attend said Congress, in behalf of this colony, to join, consult and advise with the Delegates of the other Colonies in British America, on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Speaker.*

A true copy, extracted from the journals of the House,
Attested, RICHARD LAW, *Clerk.*

At a provincial Convention formed of Deputies from the city and county of New-York, the city and county of Albany, and the counties of Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, Westchester, King's and Suffolk, held at the City of New-York, the 22d of April, 1775, for the purpose of appointing Delegates to represent the colony of New-York, in the next Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th of May next, Philip Livingston, James Duane,

Duane, John Alsop, * John Jay, Simon Boerum, William Floyd, * Henry Wisner, * Philip Schuyler, * George Clinton, Lewis Morris, * Francis Lewis, and * Robert R. Livingston, jun. Esquires, were unanimously elected Delegates, to represent this Colony at such Congress, with full power to them or any five of them, to meet the Delegates from the other Colonies, and to concert and determine upon such measures as shall be judged most effectual for the preservation and re-establishment of American rights and privileges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies.

Signed, Leonard Lupenard, Isaac Roosevelt, Abraham Walton, Alexander M'Dougall, and twenty-four others.

We the subscribers do in behalf of ourselves and those freeholders in of Queen's county, at whose request we attended the Convention, signify our assent to, and approbation of the above Delegation.

Signed, John Fulman, Zebulon Williams, Jacob Blackwell, Joseph Robinson.

NEW-JERSEY. *In Assembly,* Perth-Amboy, *Tuesday,*
January 24, 1775.

Resolved unanimously, That James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, John De Hart, and Richard Smith, Esqrs. or any three of them, be, and they are hereby appointed to attend the Continental Congress of the Colonies, intended to be held at the city of Philadelphia, in May next, or at any other time and place; and that they report their proceedings to the next session of General Assembly.

A true copy from the Journals,
RICHARD SMITH, *Clerk of the Assembly.*
PENN-

PENNSYLVANIA. *In Assembly, December 15, 1774.*
A. M.

Upon Motion, *Resolved, N. C. D.* That the honourable Edward Biddle, John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, and George Ross, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed Deputies on the Part of this Province, to attend the general Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, and that they or any four of them do meet the said Congress accordingly, unless the present grievances of the American Colonies shall before that time be redressed.

Extract from the Journals,

CHARLES MOORE, *Clerk of the Assembly.*

In Assembly, May 6, 1775, A. M.

Resolved, N. C. D. That Benjamin Franklin, hon. Thomas Willing, and James Wilson, Esquires, be, and they are hereby added to the Deputies appointed by this House, to attend the Continental Congress, expected to meet the tenth instant in this city.

Extract from the Journals,

CHARLES MOORE, *Clerk of the Assembly.*

LOWER COUNTIES on DELAWARE. *In Assembly,*
Thursday, March 16, 1775, A. M.

On motion, *Resolved, N. C. D.* That the Hon. Caesar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read, Esqrs. be, and they are hereby appointed and authorized to represent this government at the American Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Phila-

Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, or at any other time or place, with full power to them or any two of them, together with the Delegates from the other American Colonies, to concert and agree upon such further measures as shall appear to them best calculated for the accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her Colonies on a constitutional foundation, which the House most ardently wish for, and that they report their proceedings to the next sessions of General Assembly.

True copy of the minutes of Assembly,

DAVID THOMPSON, Clerk to the Assembly.

MARYLAND. * At a meeting of the Deputies appointed by the several counties of the province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, by adjournment on the 8th December, 1774, and continued till the 12th day of the same month.

Resolved unanimously, That the hon. Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, jun. * Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase, John Hall, * Thomas Stone, Esqrs. or any three or more of them be Delegates to represent this province in the next Continental Congress, and that they, or any three or more of them, have full and ample power to consent and agree to all measures, which such Congress shall deem necessary and effectual to obtain a redress of American grievances; and this province bind themselves to execute to the utmost of their power, all Resolutions which the said Congress may adopt. And further, if the said Congress shall think necessary to adjourn, we do authorize our said Delegates to represent and act for this province in
C
any

any one Congress, to be held by virtue of such adjournment.

Signed by order,

JOHN DUCKET, Clerk.

VIRGINIA. At a Convention of Delegates for the counties and corporations in the colony of Virginia, at the town of Richmond, in the county of Henrico, on Monday the 20th of March, 1775.

The Convention proceeded to the election of Delegates by ballot, to represent this colony in General Congress, to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, when the hon. Peyton Randolph, George Washington, * Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland, Esqrs, were chosen for that purpose.

PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.

JOHN TAZEWELL, clerk of the Convention.

NORTH-CAROLINA. At a general meeting of Delegates of the inhabitants of this province, in Convention, at Newbern, the 5th day of April, 1775.

Present, the hon. John Harvey, Esq; Moderator, and 68 members.

On motion, *Resolved,* That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esqrs. be, and are hereby appointed Delegates to attend the General Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, or at any other time and place that shall be appointed for that purpose, and they are hereby

hereby invested with such powers as may make any acts done by them, or any of them, or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory, in honour, upon every inhabitant thereof.

A true copy from the Minutes,

JOHN HARVEY, *Moderator.*

Attested by ANDREW KNOX, *Clerk.*

In the Assembly 7th of April, 1775.

Resolved, That the House do highly approve of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, lately held at Philadelphia, and that they are determined, as members of the community in general, that they will strictly adhere to the said Resolutions, and will use what influence they have, to induce the same observance in every individual of this province.

This House having received information, that William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esqrs. were appointed by the Convention, held at Newbern, as Delegates to attend the meeting of the Continental Congress soon to be held at Philadelphia.

Resolved, That the House approve of the choice made by the said Convention.

A true copy from the Journal of the House of Assembly.

JAMES GREEN, jun. *Clerk.*

SOUTH-CAROLINA. *In the Commons House of Assembly, Friday 3d of February, 1775.*

Whereas the Continental Congress, held at the city of Philadelphia in September last, amongst other things recommended to the several Colonies in North America, to chuse Deputies as soon as possible, to hold another Congress at the same place, on the tenth day of May next, and this House being fully satisfied with the conduct and fidelity of their late Deputies

Deputies at the Congress, do hereby nominate and appoint the Hon. H. Middleton, Tho. Lynch, Chr. Gadsden, John Rutledge, and Ed. Rutledge, Esqrs. Deputies for and in behalf of this Colony, to meet the Deputies appointed, or to be appointed, on the part and behalf of the other Colonies, at the city of Philadelphia, or any other place, that shall be agreed on by the said Deputies in General Congress, with full power and authority to concert, agree to and effectually prosecute such measures, as in the opinion of the said Deputies and the Deputies to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances.

Resolved, That the Deputies hereby appointed, on the part and behalf of this colony, are authorized and empowered to agree, that the Continental Congress may meet at any future time, and at such place as shall be agreed on, and to adjourn from time to time; provided it do not exceed nine months from the date of their meeting in May next.

Attested, THOMAS FARR, jun. Clerk.

Extract from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of SOUTH-CAROLINA, published by order of the Congress, 11th of January, 1775.

Resolved, That the hon. Henry Middleton, Esq; Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge and Edward Rutledge, Esqrs. or any three of them, be, and they are hereby appointed and authorized to represent this Colony, on the tenth day of May next, or sooner, if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia or elsewhere, with full power to concert, agree upon, direct and order such further measures, as in the opinion of the said Deputies, and the Delegates of the other American Colonies, to be assembled, shall appear to be
neces-

necessary for the recovery and establishment of American Rights and Liberties, and for restoring harmony between Great-Britain and her Colonies.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of the Congress be given to the rev. Mr. Duché, for performing Divine Service agreeable to the desire of the Congress, and for his excellent prayer so well adapted to the present occasion.

Ordered, That Mr. Bland, Mr. Willing, and Mr. Sullivan, be a committee to wait upon Mr. Duché, and return the thanks of the Congress, agreeable to the above Resolution.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That the doors be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honour to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority shall direct them to be made public.

Note.—All the members attended except those marked thus *.

A circular letter from the Agents William Bolland, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee, Esqrs. directed to the Speakers of several Assemblies, and sundry papers therein referred to, were laid before the Congress and read; the letter is as follows:

SIR,

London, Feb. 5, 1775.

OUR last letter informed you, that the King had declared his intentions of laying the Petition before his two Houses of Parliament. It has accordingly been laid before each House, but undistinguished among a variety of letters and other papers from America.

A motion made by Lord Chatham to withdraw the troops from Boston, as the first step towards a conciliating plan, was rejected; and the ministry have declared in both Houses the determination to

enforce

inforce obedience to all the late laws. For this purpose we understand that three regiments of foot, one of dragoons, seven hundred marines, six sloop of war, and two frigates, are now under orders for r rca.

We think it proper to inform you that your cause was well defended by a considerable number of good and wise men in both Houses of Parliament, though far from being a majority: And that many of the commercial and manufacturing parts of the nation, concerned in the American trade, have presented, or as we understand, are preparing to present petitions to parliament declaring their great concern for the present unhappy controversies with America, and praying expressly, or in effect, for healing measures, as the proper means of preserving their commerce now greatly suffering or endangered. But the treatment the petitions already presented have hitherto received is such, as, in our opinion, can afford you no reliance on the present relief through their means.

As soon as we learnt that the Petition of the Congress was before the House of Commons, we thought it our duty to support it, if we might be permitted so to do, as there was no other opportunity for the numerous inhabitants of the Colonies to be heard in defence of their rights: Accordingly we joined in a petition for that purpose. Sir George Saville kindly undertook to present it. But on previously opening the purport of it, as the order is, a debate arose on the propriety of receiving it, and on a division it was rejected by a great majority.

The following extract of a letter from General Gage to Lord Dartmouth, as laid before Parliament, we think it our duty to transmit, viz.

"Dec. 15, 1774. Your Lordship's idea of disarming

arming certain provinces would doubtless be consistent with prudence and safety; but it neither is, nor has been practicable, without having recourse to force, and being masters of the country."

It was thrown out in debate by a principal member of administration, that it would be proper to alter the charters of Connecticut and Rhode-Island.

Inclosed we send you a copy of the Resolutions passed in a committee of the whole house on Thursday last, which are to be reported on Monday. It is said that these Resolutions are to be the foundation of several bills to be brought in, but the purport of these bills we have not yet learnt with sufficient certainty.

We send you likewise a copy of Lord Chatham's first motion in the House of Lords, and of his plan of a bill for settling the troubles between Great-Britain and the Colonies; both which were rejected on the first reading.

With great respect we are, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servants,

(Signed)

WILLIAM BOLLAN,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

ARTHUR LEE.

The papers referred to in the foregoing letter, being published in the news-papers, it is not necessary to insert them.

Mr. Hancock laid before the Congress, a letter from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts-Bay, together with certain resolutions formed by said Congress, and a copy of a letter sent by said Congress to their Agent in England; and an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, on the late engagement between the troops under General Gage and the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay; also a
number

number of depositions duly attested, relative to the commencement of said hostilities, all which were read, and are as follows:

In Provincial Congress, WATERTOWN, May 3,

1775:

To the Honourable American Continental Congress, to be convened at Philadelphia, on the tenth of May, instant.

May it please your Honours,

THE Congress of this Colony, impressed with the deepest concern for their Country under the present critical and alarming state of its public affairs, beg leave with the utmost submission, whilst acting in support of the Cause of America, to request the direction and assistance of your respectable assembly.

The inclosed packet containing the copies of depositions, which we have dispatched for London, also an address to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, and a letter to our colony Agent, Benjamin Franklin, Esq; are humbly submitted to your consideration.

The sanguinary zeal of the ministerial army, to ruin and destroy the inhabitants of this Colony, in the opinion of this Congress, hath rendered the establishment of an army indispensibly necessary: we have accordingly passed an unanimous resolve for thirteen thousand six hundred men to be forthwith raised by this Colony, and proposals are made by us to the Congress of New-Hampshire, and governments of Rhode-Island and Connecticut Colonies, for furnishing men in the same proportion.

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The sudden exigency of our public affairs precluded the possibility of waiting for your direction in these important measures, more especially as a considerable reinforcement from Great-Britain is daily expected in this Colony, and we are now reduced to the sad alternative of defending ourselves by arms, or submitted to be slaughtered.

With the greatest deference, we beg leave to suggest, that a powerful army, on the side of America, hath been considered by this Congress, as the only means left to stem the rapid progress of a tyrannical ministry. Without a force superior to our enemies, we must reasonably expect to become the victims of their relentless fury. With such a force, we may still have hopes of seeing an immediate end put to the inhuman ravages of mercenary troops in America, and the wicked authors of our miseries brought to condign punishment, by the just indignation of our brethren in Great-Britain.

We hope that this Colony will, at all times, be ready to spend and to be spent in the cause of America. It is, nevertheless, a misfortune greatly operating to its disadvantage, that it has a great number of sea-port towns exposed to the approach of the enemy by sea; from many of which the inhabitants have removed and are removing their families and effects, to avoid destruction from ships of war. These we apprehend, will be generally distressed from want of subsistence, and disabled from contributing aid for supporting the forces of the Colony; but we have the greatest confidence in the wisdom and ability of the Continent to support us, so far as it shall appear necessary for supporting the common cause of the American Colonies.

We also inclose several resolves for empowering

and directing our receiver-general to borrow the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, lawful money, and to issue his notes for the same, it being the only measures which we could have recourse to for supporting our forces; and we request your assistance in rendering our measures effectual, by giving our notes a currency through the Continent.

JOSEPH WARREN, *President, P. T.*

The papers inclosed and referred to in the above, are as follows:—

In Provincial Congress, WATERTOWN, May 3, 1775.

Resolved, That the Receiver-General be, and hereby is impowered and directed, to borrow the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, lawful money, and issue colony security for the same, payable with annual interest at six per cent. June 1st, 1777, and that the Continental Congress be desired to recommend to the several Colonies, to give a currency to such securities.

A true extract from the Minutes,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Secretary, P. T.*

In Provincial Congress, WATERTOWN, May 3, 1775.

Resolved, That the securities given by the Receiver-General, for the monies borrowed by him, in pursuance of the foregoing resolve, be in the form following. *viz.*

Colony of the MASSACHUSETT'S-BAY.

No. the day of A. D. 1777 bor-
rowed and received of A: B. the sum of
lawful money, for the use and service of the colony
of the Massachusetts-Bay, and in behalf of said co-
lony. I do hereby promise and oblige myself and
successors, in the office of Treasurer or Receiver-
General, to repay to the said or to his order,
the first day of June, 1777, the aforesaid sum of
lawful money, in Spanish milled Dollars, at
six shillings each, or in the several species of coined
silver

silver and gold, enumerated in an Act made and passed in the 23d year of his late Majesty King George the Second, intituled, " An Act for ascer- taining the rates at which coined silver and gold, English half-pence and farthings, may pass within this government," and according to the rates therein mentioned, with interest, to be paid annually at six *per cent.* Witness my hand,

A. B. }
C. D. }
E. F. }

And whereas inconveniences may arise by the Receiver-general's issuing notes for small sums, therefore,

Resolved, That the Receiver-General be, and he hereby is directed not to issue any notes for a less sum than four pounds lawful money.

A true extract from the Minutes,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Sec. P. T.*

To the Hon. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Esq.*
at London.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, April 26, 1775.

" SIR, From the entire confidence we repose in your faithfulness and abilities; we consider it the happiness of this Colony, that the important trust of Agency for it, in this day of unequalled distress, is devolved on your hands, and we doubt not your attachment to the cause of the Liberties of mankind will make every possible exertion in our behalf a pleasure to you, although our circumstances will compel us often to interrupt your repose by matters that will surely give you pain. A singular instance hereof is the occasion of the present letter. The contents of this packet will be our apology for troubling you with it.

" From these you will see how and by whom.

we are at last plunged into the horrors of a most unnatural war. Our enemies, we are told, have dispatched to Great Britain a falacious account of the tragedy they have begun; to prevent the operation of which to the public injury, we have engaged the vessel that conveys this to you, as a Packet in the service of this Colony, and we request your assistance in supplying Capt. Derby, who commands her, with such necessaries as he shall want, on the credit of your constituents in Massachusetts Bay.

But we most ardently wish that the several papers herewith inclosed may be immediately printed and dispersed through every town in England, and especially communicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the city of London, that they may take such order thereon as they may think proper. And we are confident your fidelity will make such improvement of them, as shall convince all who are not determined to be in everlasting blindness, that it is the united efforts of both Englands that can save either. But that whatever price our brethren in the one may be pleased to put on their constitutional Liberties, we are authorized to assure you, that the inhabitants of the other, with the greatest unanimity, are inflexibly resolved to sell their's only at the price of their lives.

Signed by order of the Provincial Congress,

JOSEPH WARREN, *President, P. T.*

A true copy from the original Minutes,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Sec. P. T.*

The Depositions relative to the commencement of hostilities, are as follows:

Lexington, April, 25, 1775.

“ We Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and

Elijah Sanderson, all of lawful age, and of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the 18th of April, instant, being on the road between Concord and Lexington, and all of us mounted on horses, we were about ten of the clock, suddenly surprized by nine persons, whom we took to be regular officers, who rode up to us, mounted and armed, each having a pistol in his hand, and after putting pistols to our breasts, and seizing the bridles of our horses, they swore if we stirred, another step, we should be all dead men; upon which we surrendered ourselves. They detained us until two o'clock the next morning, in which time they searched and greatly abused us, having first enquired about the Magazines at Concord, whether any guards were posted there, and whether the Bridges were up, and said four or five regiments of regulars would be in possession of the stores soon. They then brought us back to Lexington, untied the horses, bridles and girths, turned them loose, and then left us.

SOLOMON BROWN,
JONATHAN LORING,
ELIJAH SANDERSON,
 Lexington, April 25, 1775.

"Elijah Sanderson, above-named, do further testify and declare, That I was on Lexington common the morning of the 19th of April aforesaid, having been dismissed by the Officers above-mentioned, and saw a large body of regular troops advancing towards Lexington common, many of whom were then dispersing. I heard one of the regulars, whom I took to be an Officer, say, "damn them, we will have them," and immediately the regulars shouted aloud, run and fired

on the Lexington company, which did not fire a gun before the regulars discharged on them. Eight of the Lexington company were killed while they were dispersing, and at a considerable distance from each other, and many wounded, and altho' a spectator, I narrowly escaped with my life.

ELIJAH SANDERSON."

Lexington, April 23, 1775.
 "I Thomas Rice Willard, of lawful age, do testify and declare, that being in the house of Daniel Harrington, of said Lexington, on the 19th instant, in the morning, about half an hour before sun-rise, looked out at the window of said house, and saw (as I suppose) about four hundred regulars in one body, coming up the road, and marched towards the North part of the common, back of the meeting-house of said Lexington, and as soon as said regulars were against the east end of the meeting-house, the commanding officer said something, what I know not, but upon that the regulars ran till they came within about eight or nine rods of about an hundred of the militia, of Lexington, who were collected on said common, at which time the militia of Lexington dispersed, then the officers made an huzza, and the private soldiers succeeded them, directly after this an officer rode before the regulars, to the other side of the body, and hallowed after the militia of said Lexington, and said, "Lay down your arms, damn you, why don't you lay down your arms," and that there was not a gun fired till the militia of Lexington were dispersed, and further saith not.

THOMAS RICE WILLARD."

Lexington, 25th April, 1775.
 "Simon Winship, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and province of Massachusetts-Bay,

Bay, New-England, being of lawful age, testifieth and saith, that on the 19th of April, instant, about four o'clock in the morning, as he was passing the public road in said Lexington, peaceably and unarmed, about two miles and a half distant from the meeting-house in said Lexington, he was met by a body of the King's regular troops, and being stopped by some officers of said troops, was commanded to dismount; upon asking why he must dismount, he was obliged by force to quit his horse, and ordered to march in the midst of the body, and being examined whether he had been warning the minute men, he answered no, but had been out, and was then returning to his father's. Said Winship further testifies, that he marched with said troops till he came within about half a quarter of a mile of said meeting-house, where an officer commanded the troops to halt, and then to prime and load; this being done the said troops marched on till they came within a few rods of Capt. Parker's company, who were partly collected on the place of parade, when said Winship observed an Officer at the head of said troops, flourishing his sword, and with a loud voice giving the word fire! fire! which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from said regular troops, and said Winship is positive, and in the most solemn manner declares, that there was no discharge of arms on either side till the word fire was given by said Officer as above.

SIMON WINSHIP."

Lexington, April 25th, 1775.

" I John Parker, of lawful age, and commander of the militia in Lexington, do testify and declare, that on the 19th instant, in the morning, about one of the clock, being informed that there were a number of regular Officers riding up and down

dewn the road, stopping and insulting people as they passed the road; and also was informed that a number of regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order to take the province stores at Concord, ordered our militia to meet on the Common in said Lexington, to consult what to do, and concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with said regular troops (if they should approach) unless they should insult or molest us; and upon their sudden approach I immediately ordered our militia to disperse and not to fire. Immediately said troops made their appearance and rushed furiously, fired upon and killed eight of our party, without receiving any provocation therefore from us.

JOHN PARKER.

Lexington, April 24, 1775.

“ I John Robins, being of lawful age, do testify and say, that on the 19th inst. the company under the command of Capt. John Parker, being drawn up (sometime before sun-rise) on the green or common, and I being in the front rank, there suddenly appeared a number of the King's troops, about a thousand as I thought, at the distance of about 60 or 70 yards from us huzzaing, and on a quick pace towards us, with three officers in their front on horse-back and on full gallop towards us, the foremost of which cried, throw down your arms ye villains, ye rebels! upon which said company dispersing, the foremost of the three officers ordered their men, saying fire, by God fire! at which moment we received a very heavy and close fire from them, at which instant, being wounded, I fell, and several of our men were shot dead by me. Capt. Parker's men I believe had not then fired a gun, and further the deponent saith not.

JOHN ROBINS.”

Lexington

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

" We, Benjamin Tidd, of Lexington, and Joseph Abbot, of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the 19th of April instant, about five o'clock, being on Lexington Common, and mounted on horses, we saw a body of regular troops marching up to the Lexington Company, which was then dispersing: soon after the regulars fired, first a few guns which we took to be pistols, from some of the regulars who were mounted on horses, and then the said regulars fired a volley or two, before any guns were fired by the Lexington Company; our horses immediately started, and we rode off. And further say not.

BENJAMIN TIDD.
JOSEPH ABBOT."

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

" We, Nathaniel Mullokin, Philip Russell, Moses Harrington, jun. Thomas and Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Hastings, Jonas Stone, jun. James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed, jun. Joseph Simonds, Phinehas Smith, John Chandler, jun. Reuben Lock, Joel Viles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington the 3d, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington, Enoch Willington, John Horner, Isaac Green, Phinehas Stearns, Isaac Durant, and Thomas Headly, jun. all of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New England, do testify and declare, that on the 19th of April in-

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stant,

stant, about one or two o'clock in the morning, being informed that several officers of the regulars had the evening before been riding up and down the road, and had detained and insulted the inhabitants passing the same; and also understanding that a body of regulars were marching from Boston towards Concord, with intent (as it was supposed) to take the stores belonging to the colony in that town, we were alarmed, and having met at the place of our company's parade, were dismissed by our captain, John Parker, for the present, with orders to be ready to attend at the beat of the drum. We further testify and declare, that about five o'clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the parade, and soon found that a large body of troops were marching towards us: some of our company were coming up to the parade, and others had reached it, at which time the company began to disperse: whilst our backs were turned on the troops we were fired on by them, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded. Not a gun was fired by any person in our company on the regulars to our knowledge, before they fired on us, and they continued firing until we had all made our escape.

Signed by each of the above Deponents."

Lexington, 25th of April, 1775.

" We, Nathaniel Parkhurst, Jonas Parker, John Munroe, jun. John Winship, Solomon Pierce, John Muzzy, Abner Meeds, John Bridge, jun. Ebenezer Bowman, William Munroe, the 3d, Micah Hagar, Samuel Saunderson, Samuel Hastings, and James Brown of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-bay, in New-England, and all of lawful age, do
testify

testify and say, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, about one or two o'clock, being informed that a number of regular officers had been riding up and down the road the evening and night preceding, and that some of the inhabitants as they were passing, had been insulted by the officers and stopped by them; and being also informed that the regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order (as it was said) to take the Colony stores, then deposited at Concord, we met on the parade of our company in this town; after the company had collected, we were ordered by Captain Parker (who commanded us) to disperse for the present, and to be ready to attend the beat of the drum, and accordingly the company went into houses near the place of parade. We further testify and say, that about five o'clock in the morning we attended the beat of our drum and were formed on the parade, we were faced towards the regulars then marching up to us, and some of our company were coming to the parade with their backs towards the troops, and others on the parade began to disperse when the regulars fired on the company, before a gun was fired by any of our company on them. They killed eight of our company and wounded several, and continued their fire until we had all made our escape. *Signed by each of the above deponents.*"

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

" I Timothy Smith, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, being on Lexington common as a spectator, I saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington com-

pany then dispersing, and likewise saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company before the latter fired a gun; I immediately ran, and a volley was discharged at me, which put me in imminent danger of losing my life: I soon returned to the common and saw eight of the Lexington men who were killed and lay bleeding at a considerable distance from each other; and several were wounded, and further saith not. TIMOTHY SMITH."

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

" We Levi Mead and Levi Harrington, both of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, and of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the 19th of April, being on Lexington common, as spectators, we saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company, and some of the regulars on horses, whom we took to be officers, fired a pistol or two on the Lexington company, which was then dispersing; These were the first guns that were fired, and they were immediately followed by several vollies from the regulars, by which eight men belonging to the said company were killed, and several wounded.

LEVI HARRINGTON,
LEVI MEAD."

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

" I William Draper, of lawful age, and an inhabitant of Colrain, in the county of Hampshire, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, do testify and declare, that being on the parade of said Lexington, April 19th instant about half an hour before sun-rise, the King's regular troops appeared at the meeting-house of Lexington, Capt,

Parker's

Parker's company, who were drawn up back of said meeting-house on the parade, turned from said troops, making their escape by dispersing; in the mean time the regular troops made an huzza and ran towards Capt. Parker's company, who were dispersing, and immediately after the huzza was made the commanding officer of said troops (as I took him) gave the command to the said troops, "fire! fire! damn you fire!" and immediately they fired before any of Captain Parker's company fired, I then being within three or four rods of said regular troops, And further say not.

WILLIAM DRAPER."

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

"I Thomas Fessenden, of lawful age, testify and declare, that being in a pasture near the meeting-house, at said Lexington, on Wednesday last, at about half an hour before sun-rise, I saw a number of regular troops pass speedily by said meeting-house, on their way towards a company of militia of said Lexington, who were assembled to the number of about one hundred in a company, at the distance of eighteen or twenty rods from said meeting-house; and after they had passed by said meeting-house, I saw three officers on horse-back advance to the front of said regulars, when one of them, being within six rods of the said militia, cried out, "disperse you rebels immediately," on which he brandished his sword over his head three times; mean while the second officer, who was about two rods behind him, fired a pistol, pointed at said militia, and the regulars kept huzzaing till he had finished brandishing his sword, and when he had thus finished brandishing his sword, he pointed it down towards said militia, and immediately on which

which the said regulars fired a volley at the militia, and then I ran off as fast as I could, while they continued firing till I got out of their reach. I further testify, that as soon as ever the officer cried "disperse, you rebels," the said company of militia dispersed every way as fast they could, and while they were dispersing, the regulars kept firing at them incessantly. And further saith not.

THOMAS FESSENDEN."

Lincoln, April 23, 1775.

" I John Bateman, belonging to the fifty second regiment, commanded by Col. Jones, on Wednesday morning, on the 19th day of April instant, was in the party marching to Concord, being at Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, being nigh the meeting-house in said Lexington, there was a small party of men gathered together in that place, when our said troops marched by, and I testify and declare that I heard the word of command given to the troops to fire, and some of said troops did fire, and I saw one of said small party lay dead on the ground nigh said meeting-house; and I testify that I never heard any of the inhabitants so much as fire one gun on said troops.

JOHN BATEMAN."

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

" We John Hoar, John Whithead, Abraham Garfield, Benjamin Munroe, Isaac Parks, William Hofmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, all of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, Massachusetts-Bay, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday last we were assembled at Concord in the morning of said day, in consequence of information received, that a brigade of regular troops

were

were on their march to the said town of Concord, who had killed six men at the town of Lexington; about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the number, as we apprehended, of about twelve hundred, on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back, and the said troops then took possession of the hill, where we were first posted; presently after this we saw the troops moving towards the North Bridge, about one mile from the said Concord meeting-house, we then immediately went before them and passed the bridge just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived; they there left about one half of their two hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards Col. Barrett's, about two miles from the said bridge; we then seeing several fires in the town, thought the houses in Concord were in danger, and marched towards the said bridge, and the troops that were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back over the bridge and then took up some of the planks; we then hastened our march towards the bridge, and when we had got near the bridge they fired on our men, first three guns, one after the other, and then a considerable number more; and then, and not before (having orders from our commanding officer not to fire till we were fired upon) we fired upon the regulars and they retreated. On their retreat through the town of Lexington to Charlestown, they ravaged and destroyed private property, and burnt three houses, one barn, and one shop

Signed by each of the above deponents."

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

" We, Nathan Barret, Captain, Jonathan Farrar, Joseph Butler, and Francis Wheeler, Lieutenants,

nants, John Barret, Ensign, John Brown, Silas Walter, Ephraim Melvin, Nathan Buttrick, Stephen Hofmer, jun. Samuel Barret, Thomas Jones, Joseph Chandler, Peter Wheeler, Nathan Pierce and Edward Richardson, all of Concord in the county of Middlesex, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, of lawful age, testify and declare, that on Wednesday the 19th instant, about an hour after sun-rise we assembled on a hill near the Meeting-house in Concord aforesaid, in consequence of an information that a number of regular troops had killed six of our countrymen at Lexington, and were on their march to said Concord: and about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the number, as we imagine, of about twelve hundred; on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back, and the aforesaid troops then took possession of a hill where we were first posted. Presently after this we saw them moving towards the North Bridge, about one mile from said Meeting-house, we then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of these two hundred men at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards Colonel Barret's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then seeing several fires in the town, thought our houses were in danger, and immediately marched back towards said bridge, and the troops who were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back over the bridge, and then took up some of the planks. We then hastened our steps towards the bridge, and when we had got near the bridge, they fired on our men, first three guns one after the other, and then a considerable number more: upon which, and not before, (having orders from our command-

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ing Officer not to fire till we were fired upon, we fired upon the regulars, and they retreated. At Concord and on their retreat through Lexington, they plundered many houses, burnt three at Lexington, together with a shop and barn, and committed damage more or less to almost every house from Concord to Charlestown.

Signed by the above Deponents.

" We, Joseph Butler and Ephraim Melvin, do testify and declare, that when the regular troops fired upon our people at the North bridge in Concord, as related in the foregoing depositions, they shot one, and we believe two, of our people, before we fired a single gun at them.

*Lexington,
April 23, 1775.*

JOSEPH BUTLER,
EPHRAIM MELVIN."

Concord, April 23, 1775.

" I, Timothy Minot, junior, of Concord, on the 19th day of this instant April, after that I had heard of the regular troops firing upon Lexington men, and fearing that hostilities might be committed at Concord thought it my incumbent duty to secure my family—After I had secured my family, some time after that, returning towards my own dwelling, and finding that the bridge on the north part of said Concord was guarded, by regular troops, being a spectator of what had happened at said bridge, declare, that the regular troops stationed on said bridge, after they saw the men that were collected on the westerly side of said bridge marched towards said bridge, then the troops returned towards the easterly side of said bridge and formed themselves, as I thought, for regular fight; after that they fired one gun, then two or three more, before the men that were stationed on the westerly part of said bridge fired upon them.

TIMOTHY MINOT, junior.

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Lexington

Lexington, April 23, 1775.
 " I, James Barret, of Concord, Colonel of a regiment of militia in the county of Middlesex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, about day break, I was informed of the approach of a number of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some magazines belonging to this province, when there was assembled some of the militia of this and the neighbouring towns, I ordered them to march to the North Bridge (so called) which they had passed and were taking up. I ordered said militia to march to said bridge, and pass the same, but not to fire on the King's troops, unless they were first fired upon: We advanced near said bridge, when the said troops fired upon our militia and killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing of guns in the town of Concord: my detachment then returned the fire, which killed and wounded several of the King's troops.

JAMES BARRET."

Lexington, April 23, 1775.
 " We, Bradbury Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, all of Concord; and James Adams, of Lexington, all in the county of Middlesex, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, near ten of the clock, we saw near one hundred of the regular troops, being in the town of Concord at the North Bridge in said town (so called) and having passed the same, they were taking up the said bridge, when about three hundred of our militia were advancing toward said bridge, in order to pass said bride, when, without saying any thing to us, they discharged a number of guns on us, which kil-

led two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others; when we returned the fire on them, which killed two of them, and wounded several, which was the beginning of hostilities in the town of Concord.

BRADBURY ROBINSON,
SAMUEL SPRING,
THADDEUS BANCROFT,
JAMES ADAMS."

Worcester, April 26, 1775.

" Hannah Bradish, of that part of Cambridge, called Menotomy, and daughter of Timothy Paine, of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, Esq; of lawful age, testifies and says, That about five o'clock on Wednesday last, afternoon, being in her bed chamber, with her infant child, about eight days old, she was surpris'd by the firing of the King's troops and our people, on their return from Concord. She being weak and unable to go out of her house, in order to secure herself and family, they all retired into the kitchen, in the back part of the house. She soon found the house surrounded with the King's troops; that upon observation made, at least seventy bullets were shot into the front part of the house; several bullets lodged in the kitchen where she was, and one pass'd through an easy chair she had just gone from. The door of the front part of the house was broke open; she did not see any soldiers in the house, but supposed, by the noise, they were in the front. After the troops had gone off, she missed the following things, which, she verily believes, were taken out of the house by the King's troops, viz. one rich brocade gown, called a negligee, one lutestring gown, one white quilt, one pair of brocade shoes, three shifts,

eight white aprons, three caps, one case of ivory knives and forks, and several other small articles.

HANNAH BRADISH."

*Province of the }
Massachusetts-Bay, } Worcester, ss. April 26, 1775,*

" Mrs. Hannah Bradish, the above deponent maketh oath before us, the subscribers, two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Worcester, and of the quorum, that the above deposition, according to her best recollection, is the truth. Which deposition is taken in perpetuam rei memoriam,

THOMAS STEEL,
TIMOTHY PAINE."

Concord, April 23, 1775.

" I James Marr, of lawful age, testify and say, that in the evening of the eighteenth instant, I received orders from George Hutchinson, Adjutant of the fourth regiment of the regular troops stationed at Boston, to prepare and march: To which order I attended, and marched to Concord, where I was ordered by an officer with about one hundred men, to guard a certain bridge there; while attending that service, a number of people came along, in order, I suppose, to cross said bridge, at which time a number of the regular troops first fired upon them.

JAMES MARR."

Medford, April 25, 1775.

" I Edward Thoroton Gould, of his Majesty's own regiment of foot, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the eighteenth instant, under the orders of General Gage, I embarked with the light infantry and grenadiers of the line, commanded by Col. Smith, and landed on the marshes of Cambridge, from whence we

proceeded

proceeded to Lexington; on our arrival at that place, we saw a body of provincial troops armed, to the number of about sixty or seventy men; on our approach, they dispersed, and soon after firing began, but which party fired first I cannot exactly say, as our troops rushed on shouting and hazzaing, previous to the firing, which was continued by our troops so long as any of the provincials were to be seen. From thence we marched to Concord, on a hill near the entrance of the town; we saw another body of provincials assembled, the light infantry companies were ordered up the hill to disperse them; on our approach they retreated towards Concord; the grenadiers continued the road under the hill towards the town. Six companies of light infantry were ordered down to take possession of the bridge which the provincials retreated over; the company I commanded was one, three companies of the above detachment went forward about two miles; in the mean time the provincial troops returned, to the number of about three or four hundred: We drew up on the Concord side of the bridge, the provincials came down upon us, upon which we engaged, and gave the first fire; this was the first engagement after the one at Lexington; a continued firing from both parties lasted through the whole day; I myself was wounded at the attack of the bridge, and am now treated with the greatest humanity, and taken all possible care of by the provincials at Medford.

EDWARD THOROTON GOULD."

Lieut. King's own Regiment.

*Province of Massachusetts-Bay }
Middlesex County, April 25, 1775. }*

" Lieut. Thoroton Gould, aforementioned, personally

ally made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration by him subscribed, before us,

THAD. MASON, JOSIAH JOHNSON, SIMON TUFTS,
Justices of the peace, for the county aforesaid,
Quorum unus.

Province of Massachusetts-Bay, Charlesown, ff.

“ I Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and Tabellion Public, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn, hereby certify, to all whom it doth or may concern, That Thadeus Masson, Josiah Johnson, and Simon Tufts, Esqrs. are three of his Majesty's Justices of the peace (*Quorum unus*) for the county of Middlesex; and that full faith and credit is, and ought to be given to their transactions as such, both in court and out. In witness whereof, I have herewith affixed my name and seal, this twenty-sixth day of April, *Anno Domini*, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Notary Public.”
(L. S.)

(All the above depositions are sworn to before Justices of the Peace, and duly attested by Notaries Public, in manner of the last one.)

*In Provincial Congress, Watertown, April 26, 1775.
To the Inhabitants of Great-Britain.*

“ *Friends and Fellow Subjects,*

“ Hostilities are at length commenced in this Colony by the troops under the command of Gen. Gage, and it being of the greatest importance, that an early, true, and authentic account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the Congress of this colony have transmitted the same, and from want of a session of the honourable Continental Congress, think it proper to address you on the alarming occasion.

“ By

“ By the clearest depositions relative to this transaction, it will appear that, on the night preceding the nineteenth of April instant, a body of the King's troops, under the command of Colonel Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent design to take or destroy the military and other stores provided for the defence of this colony, and deposited at Concord. That some inhabitants of the colony, on the night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the road between Boston and Concord, were seized and greatly abused by armed men, who appeared to be officers of Gen. Gage's army; that the town of Lexington by these means was alarmed, and a company of the inhabitants mustered on the occasion.—That the regular troops, on their way to Concord, marched into the said town of Lexington, and the said company on their approach began to disperse.—That notwithstanding this, the regulars rushed on with great violence, and first began hostilities, by firing on said Lexington company, whereby they killed eight, and wounded several others.—That the regulars continued their fire until those of said company, who were neither killed nor wounded, had made their escape.—That Col. Smith with the detachment then marched to Concord, where a number of provincials were again fired on by the troops, two of them killed and several wounded, before the provincials fired on them, and that these hostile measures of the troops produced an engagement that lasted through the day, in which many of the provincials, and more of the regular troops were killed and wounded.

“ To give a particular account of the ravages of the troops, as they retreated from Concord to Charlestown, would be very difficult, if not impracticable;

“ By

practicable; let it suffice to say, that a great number of the houses on the road were plundered and rendered unfit for use; several were burnt; women in child-bed were driven, by the soldiery, naked into the streets; old men peaceably in their houses were shot dead; and such scenes exhibited as would disgrace the annals of the most uncivilized nations.

“ These, brethren, are marks of ministerial vengeance against this colony, for refusing, with her sister colonies, a submission to slavery; but they have not yet detached us from our R. Sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown, and dignity. Nevertheless, to the Persecution and Tyranny of his cruel Ministry we will not tamely submit—appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free.

“ We cannot think that the honor, wisdom, and valour of Britons will suffer them to be long inactive spectators of measures, in which they themselves are so deeply interested—Measures pursued in opposition to the solemn protests of many noble Lords, and expressed sense of conspicuous Commons, whose knowledge and virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest men in the nation—Measures executing contrary to the interest, petitions, and resolves of many large, respectable, and opulent counties, cities, and boroughs in Great Britain—Measures highly incompatible with justice, but still pursued with a specious pretence of easing the nation of its burthens—Measures, which, if successful, must end in the ruin and slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American Colonies.

“ We

" We sincerely hope, that the Great Sovereign of the Universe, who hath so often appeared for the English Nation, will support you in every rational and manly exertion with these Colonies, for saving it from ruin, and that in a constitutional connection with the Mother Country, we shall soon be altogether a free and happy people.

Per Order,

JOSEPH WARREN, *President, P. T.*"

Ordered, That the Secretary have the above depositions and the Address to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain published.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the Congress will on Monday next resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.

Ordered, That the letter from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts's-Bay be referred to the Committee.

Adjourned till to-morrow at ten o'clock, and from thence to Saturday.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Congress being informed that Doctor Lyman Hall attended at the door, as a delegate from the parish of St. John's, in the colony of Georgia, and desired to know whether as such he may be admitted to this Congress.

Agreed unanimously, That he be admitted as a delegate from the parish of St. John's, in the colony of Georgia, subject to such regulations as the Congress shall determine, relative to his voting.

Mr. Lyman Hall being accordingly admitted, produced his credentials, which were read and approved, and are as follows:

“ *To the honourable Gentlemen of the Congress, designed to be held at Philadelphia, on May, Anno Domini, 1775.*

“ *The Address of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. John's, in the Province of Georgia.*

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ To give a particular detail of our many struggles in the cause of liberty, the many meetings thereby occasioned, and held in this parish, the endeavours we have used to induce the rest of this province to concur with us, the attendance of our committee on the provincial conventions held at Savannah in this province, and particularly that of the 18th of January last, with their proceedings, and the reasons of our dissent from them, we think would be tedious to you, and therefore send a summary abstract, which, with the account that may be given by Lyman Hall, Esq; appointed a delegate to represent and act for this parish in the general Continental Congress, to be held in May next, and the testimonies of the honourable delegates from South Carolina, we hope will be satisfactory.

“ Immediately upon our being honoured with an answer to the representation of our case, transmitted to the honourable Congress, which sat at Philadelphia last year, with a copy of the association there entered into, we had a meeting, and our proceedings then and since that time, will in brief appear from the following abstracts of an Address from this parish to the Committee of Correspondence in Charlestown, South Carolina, which is as follows :

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ Herewith will be communicated to you, the several steps taken by this parish in their endeavours

to

to conform as near as possible to the Resolutions entered into by the other Colonies: and the particular measures now adopted, for carrying into execution the Continental Association, which we embraced the earliest opportunity of acceding to by subscribing it; on condition that trade and commerce with the other Colonies be continued to us the subscribers; and thereupon should have immediately sent to you for your approbation and indulgence, but were delayed by a summons to attend a Provincial Congress in Savannah, on the 18th of January last, for the purpose, as we understood, of a general association with the other Colonies, and choosing Delegates: At which time and place we attended, and acquainted the other parishes assembled on that occasion, that we had already acceded to the general Association, on condition, as above-mentioned, and earnestly requested them to do the same. Had they acceded fully to the general Association, we should have had no occasion to trouble you with this Address; but as they did not, we now apply to you, to admit us the subscribers to an alliance with you, requesting that you will allow trade and commerce to be continued to us, the same to be conducted under such regulations and restrictions, as shall be consistent with the Continental Association, and which on our part we engage with all possible care to keep inviolate. As we of this Parish are a body detached from the rest (i. e. of this province) by our resolutions, and sufficiently distinct by local situation, large enough for particular notice, adjoining a particular port, and in that respect, capable of conforming to the general Association,

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if connected with you, with the same fidelity as a distant parish of your own province; we must be considered as comprehended within the spirit and equitable meaning of the Continental Association, and hope you will not condemn the innocent with the guilty, especially when a due separation is made between them.

' Give us leave to add only, that we wait your answer, shall be glad of your advice, and are, with esteem,

' Gentlemen,

' Yours, &c.'

St. John's, 9th February, 1775.

" To which we received the following Answer."

' Gentlemen,

' Your letter, accompanying sundry papers, having been laid before a very full Committee of this Colony, and undergone the most mature deliberation: I am, by their desire, to acquaint you, that they have the highest sense of your arduous struggles in favour of the common cause of America; and most sincerely lament your present unhappy situation: But would recommend a continuance of your laudable exertions, and the laying a state of your case before the ensuing Continental Congress, as the only means of obtaining relief, and to put you in the situation you wish, which this Committee apprehend to be entirely out of their power to do, as it is their opinion, that the parish of St. John, being part of the Colony of Georgia, (which, by not acceding to, has violated the Continental Association) falls under the 14th article of the said Association, no part of which any Committee can presume to do away, &c.'

Upon

“ Upon the receipt of this answer, it was seriously considered in what manner to conduct in the present situation; and proposed whether we should immediately break off all connexion and commerce with Savannah, and all other inhabitants of this province, who have not fully acceded to the Continental Association.

“ It was considered, that as we were denied commerce with any other Colony, and but one merchant among us considerable for dry goods had signed our Association, and he insufficient for a present supply, and we utterly unable at present to procure materials or manufactures for cloathing among ourselves, we must, by such a resolution, become extremely miserable; it was therefore concluded, that till we could obtain trade and commerce with some other colony, it is absolutely necessary to continue it in some respects with our own, and determined that it be carried on under the following regulations:

“ That none of us shall directly or indirectly purchase any slave imported at Savannah, (large numbers of which we understand are there expected,) till the sense of the Congress shall be made known to us.

“ That we will not trade at all with any merchant at Savannah or elsewhere, that will not join in our associating Agreement, otherwise than under the inspection of a Committee for that purpose appointed, and for such things only as they shall judge necessary, and when they shall think there are necessary reasons for so doing.

“ A Committee was then nominated and appointed to sit weekly on Thursdays, for the purposes aforesaid.

“ It

Upon

“ It was then resolved, that a delegate be sent from this parish to the Congress, to be held at Philadelphia in May next, and that Tuesday the 21st of March be appointed for chusing one.

“ On the said 21st of March, at a full meeting Lyman Hall, Esq; was unanimously chosen to represent and act for the inhabitants of this parish, as a Delegate, at the General Congress to be held in Philadelphia in May next, who are determined faithfully to adhere to and abide by the determinations of him and the other honourable Members of the same.

“ Signed by order of the inhabitants,

By DANIEL ROBERTS, and twenty others,

Members of the Committee.

Midway, St. John's Parish,
in the province of Georgia,
13th April, A. D. 1775.”

A Petition from the county of Frederic, in Virginia, addressed to the Congress, was presented and read.

Agreed, That it be referred to the Committee on Monday.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Besides those who met at the opening of the Congress, the following members attended, from New-York, Mr. Jay, Mr. Wisner, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Morris, and Mr. R. R. Livingston; from Pennsylvania, Mr. Wilson; from Maryland, Mr. Stone and Mr. Goldsborough.

Upon motion, Agreed, That the Secretary be allowed to employ Timothy Matlack as a clerk,
he

he having first taken an oath or affirmation to keep secret the transactions of the Congress, that may be entrusted to him or may come to his knowledge.

The city and country of New-York having, through the Delegates of that province, applied to Congress for advice, how to conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected there, the Congress took the matter into consideration. During their deliberations, it became necessary to take the opinion of the Congress by Colonies, upon which a question arose, whether the Delegate from the parish of St. John's, in the Colony of Georgia, could be admitted to vote. After some debate on this question, the Delegate from that parish arose, and after observing, that the present distressful situation of American affairs had induced a necessity of this Congress, which was composed of Delegates representing whole Colonies; that as he did not represent a Colony, but only a part, he did not insist on giving a vote as a Colony, but was contented to hear and assist in the debates, and to give his vote in all cases, except when the sentiments of the Congress were taken by Colonies.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the matter referred to them; during the debate Samuel Ward, Esq; one of the Delegates from Rhode-Island, appeared and produced his Credentials, which being read, were approved, and are as follows:

(L. S.) *By the Honourable the General Assembly of the English Colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America.*

To

To the Honourable STEPHEN HOPKINS, Esq;
and the Honourable SAMUEL WARD, Esq;
Greeting,

Whereas the general Assembly of the Colony aforesaid, have nominated and appointed you the said Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, to represent the people of this Colony in a General Congress of Representatives from this and the other Colonies, to be holden in the city of Philadelphia, and there in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the Commissioners or Delegates from the other Colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament for levying taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in America without their consent, and upon proper measures, to establish the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies upon a just and solid foundation, agreeable to the instructions given you by the General Assembly.

By virtue of an Act of the General Assembly, I, Henry Ward, Esq; Secretary of the said Colony, have hereunto set my hand and affixed the said seal of said Colony, this seventh day of May, A. D. 1775, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of his most sacred Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY WARD.

The matter under consideration being resumed, the Congress

Resolved, That it be recommended, for the present, to the inhabitants of New-York, that if the troops, which are expected, should arrive, the said Colony act on the defensive, so long as may be consistent with their safety and security; that the troops be permitted to remain in the barracks, so long as they behave peaceably and quietly, but that they be not suffered to erect fortifications

tifications, or take any steps for cutting off the communication between the town and country, and that if they commit hostilities or invade private property, the inhabitants should defend themselves and their property, and repel force by force; that the warlike stores be removed from the town; that places of retreat, in case of necessity, be provided for the women and children of New-York; and that a sufficient number of men be embodied, and kept in constant readiness for protecting the inhabitants from insult and injury.

Two memorials, one from Samuel Shoemaker, the other from James and Drinker, merchants of this city, respecting some cargoes purchased by them and intended for Newfoundland, but which are stopped by the Committee of this city, were laid before the Congress and read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Upon motion, Resolved, That Mr. Washington, Mr. Lynch, Mr. S. Adams, and the Delegates from New-York, be a Committee to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied in the Colony of New-York, and that they be desired to report as speedily as possible.

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment. A MEMORIAL from Robert and John Murray, of New-York, was laid before the Congress and read.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

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Agreeable

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, after some time spent therein, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Tilghman reported from the Committee, that they had taken the matter referred to them into consideration, but not having come to any resolution, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment, and the order of the day being postponed till to-morrow;

Upon motion, *Resolved unanimously*, That all exportations to Quebec, Nova-Scotia, the island of St. John's, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the parish of St. John's, and to East and West-Florida, immediately cease, and that no provision of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts, until it be otherwise determined by the Congress.

Ordered, That this be published immediately.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq; from Rhode-Island, and Patrick Henry, Esq; from Virginia, attended and took their seats in Congress.

Upon

Upon motion, Resolved, That the rules of conduct to be observed in debating and determining questions, laid down by the last Congress, be adopted and observed by the present Congress.

The President laid before the Congress some important intelligence he received last night by express, relative to the surprizing and taking of Ticonderoga, by a detachment from Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut, which was read.

Upon motion, Agreed, That Mr. Brown who brought the express be called in: After he withdrew, the Congress taking into consideration the letters and intelligence communicated to them;

Resolved, Whereas there is indubitable evidence, that a design is formed by the British ministry; of making a cruel invasion from the province of Quebec upon these colonies, for the purpose of destroying our lives and liberties, and some steps have actually been taken to carry the said design into execution; and whereas several inhabitants of the northern Colonies, residing in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, and immediately exposed to incursions, impelled by a just regard for the defence and preservation of themselves and their countrymen, from such imminent dangers and calamities; have taken possession of that post, in which was lodged a quantity of cannon and military stores, that would certainly have been used in the intended invasion of these colonies, this Congress earnestly recommend it to the Committees of the cities and counties of New-York and Albany, immediately to cause the said cannon and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, and, if necessary, to apply to the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay,

Bay and Connecticut, for such an additional body of forces as will be sufficient to establish a strong post at that place, and effectually to secure the said cannon and stores, or so many of them as it may be judged proper to keep there—And that an exact inventory be taken of all such cannon and stores, in order that they may be safely returned, when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the over-ruling law of self-preservation.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied in the Colony of New-York, and by what number of troops it will be proper they should be guarded, brought in their report, which being read, was referred to the committee of the whole.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and continued so to do, from day to day, till Wednesday 24th, on which day the Hon. Peyton Randolph, President, being under a necessity of returning home, and having set out this morning early, the chair was vacant, whereupon,

On motion, The Hon. John Hancock, Esq; was unanimously chosen President.

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The Congress then resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and repeated the same on the day following.

ON FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1775.

The Congress being met according to adjournment, one of the Delegates from New-Jersey, laid before them a minute from the journals of the Assembly of that Colony, together with a resolution of the Commons of Great Britain, which were read as follows :

New-Jersey, House of Assembly, May 20, 1775.

“ His Excellency having laid before the House
“ a copy of the resolution of the honourable
“ House of Commons of Great Britain, of the
“ 20th of February, 1775, containing a plan,
“ formed for the accommodation of the unhappy
“ differences between our parent State and the
“ Colonies; which plan, under the present cir-
“ cumstances, this House could not comply with
“ and adopt, and yet this House being desirous
“ of making use of all proper means to effect a
“ reconciliation, do recommend it to their Dele-
“ gates to lay the same plan before the Continen-
“ tal Congress for their consideration.”

A true copy from the Journal,

RICHARD SMITH, *Clerk of Assembly.*

*Copy of a Resolution of the House of Commons,
February 20, 1775.*

“ Resolved, That when the Governor, Council
“ and Assembly, or General Court of any of his
“ Majesty's provinces or Colonies in America,
“ shall propose to make provision according to
“ the

“ the condition, circumstances, and situations
 “ of such province or colony, for contributing
 “ their proportion for the common defence, (such
 “ proportion to be raised under the authority of
 “ the General Court or General Assembly of such
 “ province or colony, and disposable by Parlia-
 “ ment) and shall engage to make provision also
 “ for the support of the civil government and the
 “ administration of justice in such province or
 “ colony, it will be proper, if such proposal
 “ shall be approved by his Majesty and the two
 “ houses of Parliament, and for so long as such
 “ provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear,
 “ in respect of such province or colony, to levy
 “ any duty, tax or assessment, except only such
 “ duties as it may be expedient to continue to
 “ levy or to impose for the regulation of com-
 “ merce, the neat produce of the duties last
 “ mentioned, to be carried to the account of
 “ such province or colony respectively :”

Ordered, That the above be referred to the
 Committee for taking into consideration the state
 of America.

The Congress then resolved itself into a Com-
 mittee of the whole, to take into consideration
 the state of America; after some time spent
 therein the President resumed the chair, and Mr.
 Ward reported from the Committee, that they
 had come to some resolutions which he was de-
 sired to report, but not having finished the busi-
 ness desired him to move for leave to sit again.

The report from the Committee being read,
 the Congress came into the following resolu-
 tions,

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That his Majesty's most faithful subjects in these Colonies are reduced to a dangerous and critical situation, by the attempts of the British Ministry to carry into execution, by force of arms, several unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the British Parliament for laying taxes in America; to enforce the collection of those taxes, and for altering and changing the Constitution and internal police of some of these Colonies, in violation of the natural and civil rights of the colonists.

Hostilities being actually commenced in the Massachusetts-Bay, by the British troops under the command of General Gage, and the lives of a number of the inhabitants of that Colony destroyed, the town of Boston having not only been long occupied as a garrisoned town in an enemy's country, but the inhabitants thereof treated with a severity and cruelty not to be justified even towards declared enemies; large re-inforcements too being ordered and soon expected, for the declared purpose of compelling these Colonies to submit to the operation of the said acts; that therefore, for the express purpose of securing and defending these Colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the said acts into execution by force of arms, these Colonies be immediately put into a state of defence.

But as we most ardently wish for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between our mother country and these Colonies, the interruption of which must, at all events, be exceedingly injurious to both countries, that with a sincere design of contributing by all the means in our power, not incompatible with a just regard for the undoubted rights and true interests of these Colonies,

Colonies, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his Majesty.

Resolved, That measures be entered into for opening a negociation, in order to accommodate the unhappy disputes subsisting between Great-Britain and these Colonies, and that this be made a part of the petition to the King.

Resolved unanimously, That the militia of New-York be armed and trained, and in constant readiness to act at a moment's warning; and that a number of men be immediately embodied and kept in that city, and so disposed of as to give protection to the inhabitants, in case any insult should be offered by the troops, that may land there, and to prevent any attempts that may be made to gain possession of the city, and interrupt its intercourse with the country.

Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the Provincial Convention at New-York, to persevere the more vigorously in preparing for their defence, as it is very uncertain whether the earnest endeavours of the Congress, to accommodate the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and the Colonies, by conciliatory measures, will be successful.

Upon motion, Agreed, That Mr. Jay, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. Dean, be a Committee to prepare and bring in a letter to the people of Canada.

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into their father consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

SATURAY

SATURDAY, May 27, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The President laid before the Congress a letter from the Convention of New-Jersey, which was read and referred to the Committee of the whole.

Information being given, that there is a gentleman in town who can give a full and just account of the state of affairs in Canada.

Ordered, That he be introduced, which was done.

The Committee appointed to draught a letter to the inhabitants of Canada, brought in the letter, which was read, and after some debate, recommended to the same committee.

Upon motion, Agreed, That Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Dean, Mr. Morris, and Mr. S. Adams, be a Committee, to consider on ways and means to supply these Colonies with ammunition and military stores.

Upon motion, The memorial of Robert Murray and John Murray, "desiring to be restored to their former situation with respect to their commercial privileges," was taken into consideration, and after some time spent thereon,

Resolved, That where any person hath been or shall be adjudged by a Committee, to have violated the Continental Association, and such offender shall satisfy the Convention of the Colony, where the Offence was or shall be committed, or the Committee of the parish of St. John's, in the colony of Georgia, if the offence be committed there, of his contrition for his offence, and sincere resolution to conform to the Association for the future, the said Convention or Committee, of the parish of St. John's aforesaid, may settle the

terms; upon which he may be restored to the favour and forgiveness of the public, and that the terms be published.

Ordered, That this be made public.

Resolved, That the order of the day be postponed till Monday.

Adjourned till Monday 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, MAY 29, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee to whom the letter to the inhabitants of Canada was re-committed, brought in the same, was read and approved, and is as follows:

To the oppressed INHABITANTS of CANADA.

Friends and Countrymen,

Alarmed by the designs of an arbitrary ministry to extirpate the rights and liberties of all America, a sense of common danger conspired with the dictates of humanity, in urging us to call your attention, by our late Address, to this very important object.

Since the conclusion of the late war, we have been happy in considering you as fellow subjects, and from the commencement of the present plan, for subjugating the Continent, we have viewed you as fellow-sufferers with us. As we were both entitled by the bounty of an indulgent Creator to freedom, and being both devoted, by the cruel edicts of a despotic administration, to common ruin, we perceived the fate of the protestant and catholic Colonies to be strongly linked together, and therefore invited you to join with us in
 resolving

resolving to be free, and in rejecting, with disdain, the fetters of slavery, however artfully polished.

We most sincerely condole with you on the arrival of that day, in the course of which, the sun could not shine on a single free-man in all your extensive dominion. Be assured that your unmerited degradation has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister Colonies; and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.

When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism, when the plighted faith of government ceases to give security to loyal and dutiful subjects; and when the insidious stratagems and manœuvres of peace become more terrible than the sanguinary operations of war, it is high time for them to assert those rights, and, with honest indignation, oppose the torrent of oppression rushing in upon them.

By the introduction of your present form of government, or rather present form of tyranny, you and your wives and your children are made slaves. You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labour and industry may be taken from you, whenever an avaricious Governor and a rapacious Council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts to be transported into foreign countries, to fight battles, in which you have no interest, and to spill your blood in conflicts from which neither honour nor emolument can be derived: Nay, the enjoyment of your very religion, on the present system, depends

on a legislature, in which you have no share, and over which you have no controul, and your Priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment and ruin, when ever their wealth and possessions furnish sufficient temptation. They cannot be sure, that a virtuous Prince will always fill the Throne, and should a wicked or a careless King concur with a wicked Ministry in extracting the treasure and strength of your country, it is impossible to conceive to what variety and to what extremes of wretchedness you may, under the present establishment, be reduced.

We are informed you have already been called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us. Should you, by complying in this instance, assent to your new establishment, and a war break out with France, your wealth and your sons may be sent to perish in expeditions against their islands in the West-Indies.

It cannot be presumed that those considerations will have no weight with you, or that you are so lost to all sense of honour. We can never believe that the present race of Canadians are so degenerated as to profess neither the spirit, the gallantry, or the courage of their ancestors. You certainly will not permit the infamy and disgrace of such pusillanimity to rest on your own heads, and the consequences of it on your children forever.

We for our parts are determined to live free or not at all, and are resolved that posterity shall never reproach us with having brought slaves into the world.

Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends, not your enemies, and be not imposed upon by those, who may endeavour to create animosities. The taking of the fort and military
stores

stores at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, and the armed vessels on the lake, was dictated by the great law of self-preservation. They were intended to annoy us, and to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication, which has hitherto subsisted between you and us. We hope it has given you no uneasiness, and you may rely on our assurance, that these Colonies will pursue no measures whatever, but such as friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.

As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not, by doing us injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies.

We yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defence of our common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe, that should we join in imploring the attention of our Sovereign, to the unmerited and unparalleled oppressions of his American subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious Ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the Rights of mankind."

Ordered, That the above letter be signed by the President.

Ordered, That Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Mufflin be a Committee to get the letter translated into the French language, and to have one thousand copies of it, so translated, printed, in order to be sent to Canada and dispersed among the inhabitants there.

Upon motion, Resolved, That no provisions or necessaries of any kind be exported to the Island of Nantucket, except from the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, the Convention of which Colony is desired to take measures for effectually providing the said island, upon their application to purchase

chafe the same, with as much provision, as shall be necessary for its internal use and no more.

The Congress deeming it of great importance to North-America, that the British fishery should not be furnished with provisions from the Continent through Nantucket, earnestly recommend a vigilant execution of this resolve to all Committees.

Ordered, That the above resolve be immediately published.

As the present critical situation of the Colonies renders it highly necessary that ways and means should be devised for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence from one end of the Continent to the other,

Resolved, That Mr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Lee, Mr. Willing, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. P. Livingston, be a Committee to consider the best means of establishing posts for conveying letters and intelligence through this continent.

Resolved, That the order of the day be postponed till to-morrow.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

T U E S D A Y, MAY 30, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

A Member informed the Congress, that a Gentleman just arrived from London, had brought with him a paper, which he says he received from Lord North, and which was written, at the desire of his Lordship, by Mr. Gray Cooper, Under-Secretary to the Treasury, and as the Gentleman understood it to be his Lordship's desire that it should be communicated to the Congress, for that

that purpose he had put it into his hands. The Member farther observed, that he had shewn the paper to a Member near him, who was well acquainted with the hand-writing of Mr. Cooper, and that he verily believes the paper was written by Mr. Cooper.

The paper being read, is as follows :

That it is earnestly hoped by all the real friends of the Americans; that the terms expressed in the Resolution of the 20th of Feb. last, will be accepted by all the Colonies, who have the least affection for their King and country. Or a just sense of their own interest.

That these terms are honourable for Great-Britain, and safe for the Colonies.

That if the Colonies are not blinded by faction, these terms will remove every grievance relative to taxation, and be the basis of a compact between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

That the people in America ought, on every consideration, to be satisfied with them.

That no further relaxation can be admitted.

The temper and spirit of the nation are so much against concessions, that if it were the intention of Administration, they could not carry the question.

But Administration have no such intention, as they are fully and firmly persuaded, that further concessions would be injurious to the Colonies as well as to Great-Britain.

That there is not the least probability of a change of Administration.

That they are perfectly united in opinion, and determined to pursue the most effectual measures, and to use the whole force of the kingdom, if it

be

be found necessary, to reduce the rebellious and refractory Provinces and Colonies.

There is so great a spirit in the nation against the Congress, that the people will bear the temporary distresses of a stoppage of the American trade.

They may depend on this to be true.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and continued so to do the day following, when after some time, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported from the Committee, that they had proceeded in the business, but not having come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

A letter from Col. Arnold, dated Crown-Point, May 23, 1775, was laid before the Congress, informing, that he had certain intelligence, that "on the 19th there were then 400 regulars at St. John's, making all possible preparation to cross the lake, and expected to be joined by a number of Indians, with a design of retaking Crown-Point and Ticonderoga," and earnestly calling for a reinforcement and supplies. This letter being taken into consideration.

Resolved, That the governor of Connecticut be requested immediately to send a strong reinforcement to the garrisons of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, and that so many of the cannon and other stores be retained, as may be necessary for the immediate defence of those posts, until further order from

from this Congress, and that the Provincial Convention of New-York be informed of this Resolve, and desired to furnish those troops with provisions and other necessary stores, and to take effectual care that a sufficient number of Batteaus be immediately provided for the lakes.

Ordered, That the above resolve be immediately transmitted in a letter by the President, to Governor Trumbull and the Convention at New-York.

Ordered, That the President in his letter acquaint Governor Trumbull that it is the desire of the Congress that he should appoint a person, in whom he can confide, to command the forces at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

T H U R S D A Y, June 1, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to consider ways and means to supply these Colonies with ammunition and military stores, brought in their report, which was read and referred to the Committee of the whole.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the government of Connecticut, or the General of the forces of that Colony, to appoint Commissaries to receive at Albany and forward the supplies of provisions, for the forces on Lake Champlain, from the Provincial Convention of New-York, and that the said Convention use their utmost endeavours in facilitating and aiding the transportation thereof, from thence to where the said Commissaries may direct.

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As this Congress has nothing more in view than the defence of these Colonies,

Resolved, That no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any Colony or body of Colonists, against or into Canada; and that this Resolve be immediately transmitted to the commander of the forces at Ticonderoga.

Ordered, That the above Resolve be translated into the French language, and transmitted, with the letter, to the inhabitants of Canada.

Ordered, That the President transmit a copy of the above to New-York, and the other Colonies bordering on Canada.

A petition from the committee representing the people in that part of Augusta county, in the Colony of Virginia, on the west side of the Allegheny Mountain, was laid before the Congress and read, intimating "fears of a rupture with the Indians, on account of Lord Dunmore's conduct," and desiring "Commissioners from the colony of Virginia, and province of Pennsylvania, to attend a meeting of the Indians at Pittsburg, in behalf of these Colonies."

Ordered, That the above be referred to the Delegates of the Colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The Congress then, agreeable to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported from the Committee, that they had taken the matters referred to them into consideration, but not having yet come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved,

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

F R I D A Y, June 2, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The President laid before the Congress a letter from the Provincial Convention of Massachusetts-Bay, dated May 16, which was read, setting forth the difficulties they labour under, for want of a regular form of government, and as they and the other Colonies are now compelled to raise an army to defend themselves from the butcheries and devastations of their implacable enemies, which renders it still more necessary to have a regular established government, requesting the Congress to favour them with "explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government," and declaring their readiness to "submit to such a general plan as the Congress may direct for the Colonies, or make it their great study to establish such a form of government there, as shall not only promote their advantage, but the union and interest of all America.

Ordered, To lie on the table for farther consideration.

Doctor Benjamin Church being directed by the Convention of Massachusetts-Bay, to confer with the Congress respecting such other matters, as may be necessary to the defence of that Colony, and particularly the state of the army therein,

Ordered, That he be introduced.

After he withdrew, an express arriving with dispatches from Massachusetts-Bay, the President laid before the Congress letters from the Conventions of that Colony and New-Hampshire, also from Governor Trumbull, which were read.

Upon Motion, *Resolved*, That no bill of exchange, draught or order of any officer in the army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied to them by any person in America.

That no provisions or necessaries of any kind, be furnished or supplied to or for the use of the British army or navy, in the colony of Massachusetts-Bay.

That no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North-America to another, or warlike stores or provisions for said troops be freighted or furnished with provisions or any necessaries, until further orders from this Congress.

Ordered, That the above resolves be immediately published.

The order of the day being postponed, the Congress adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

S A T U R D A Y, June 3, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

A Letter from the Convention of New-York, together with sundry letters and papers enclosed, from Albany, were laid before the Congress and read.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

The letter from the Convention of Massachusetts, dated the 16th of May, being again read.

Resolved,

Resolved, That a Committee of five persons be chosen to consider the same, and report what in their opinion is the proper advice to be given to that Convention.

The following persons were chosen by ballot, to compose that Committee, viz. Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Jay, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Lee.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed, to draught a petition to the King.

That another Committee of three be appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain.

That another Committee of four be appointed to prepare an address to the people of Ireland.

That another Committee of three be appointed to bring in the draught of a letter to the inhabitants of Jamaica.

That another Committee of five be appointed to bring in an estimate of money necessary to be raised.

The Congress then proceeded to chuse by ballot the several Committees, when Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Franklin, were elected to compose the first; Mr. Lee, Mr. R. R. Livingston, and Mr. Pendleton, for the second; Mr. Duane, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. J. Adams, for the third; Mr. Hooper, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Lynch, for the fourth; and Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hughes, for the fifth.

Adjourned till Monday at nine o'clock.

On Monday and Tuesday the Congress met and adjourned, to give the Committees time to bring in their report.

W E D N E S D A Y, JUNE 7, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to make an estimate
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of the money necessary to be raised, brought in their report, which was read and referred to the Committee of the whole.

On motion, Resolved, That Thursday the 20th of July next, be observed throughout the Twelve United Colonies as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, and that Mr. Hooper, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Paine, be a Committee to bring in a resolve for that purpose.

The Committee appointed to prepare advice in answer to the letter from the Convention of Massachusetts-Bay, brought in their report, which was read and ordered to lie on the table for consideration.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America; after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had proceeded in the business referred to them, but not having come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve themselves into a Committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America. And that this be a standing order till the business is completed.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

T H U R S D A Y, J U N E 8, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress being informed that a Major Skene, with some other officers, who arrived last evening in a vessel from London, were, with their papers, in the custody of the troops of this city; that the said Skene has lately been appointed Governor of the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; that one of the officers with him is a lieutenant

tenant in the regulars now in the province of Quebec; and moreover, that the said Skene had declared, that he has authority to raise a regiment in America; from all this, apprehending that the said Skene is a dangerous partizan of Administration, and that his papers may contain intelligence of ministerial designs against America, very important to be known.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine the papers of the said Skene and Lieutenant, in their presence.

That the Committee consist of Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Mifflin.

That the said Committee be upon honour to conceal whatever of a private nature may come to their knowledge by such examination; and that they communicate to this Congress what they shall discover relative to the present dispute between Great Britain and America.

The remainder of the day being spent in a Committee of the whole, on the state of America, the Congress adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The report of the Committee on the letter from the Convention of Massachusetts-Bay being again read, the Congress came to the following resolution:

Resolved, That no obedience being due to the Act of Parliament for altering the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, nor to the Governor or Lieutenant Governor, who will not observe the directions of, but endeavour to subvert that Charter, the Governor and Lt-Governor of that Colony are to be considered as absent, and their offices vacant; and

and as there is no Council there, and the inconveniencies arising from the suspension of the powers of government are intolerable, especially at a time when General Gage hath actually levied war and is carrying on hostilities against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that colony; that, in order to conform as near as may be to the spirit and substance of the Charter, it be recommended to the Provincial Convention to write letters to the inhabitants of the several places, which are intituled to representation in Assembly, requesting them to chuse such representatives, and that the Assembly, when chosen, do elect Counsellors; and that such Assembly or Council exercise the powers of government, until a Governor of his Majesty's appointment, will consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

Ordered, That the President transmit a copy of the above to the Convention of Massachusetts-Bay,
Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, June 10, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Sundry letters from Massachusetts-Bay, Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, &c. being laid before the Congress, were read, and the same being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several towns and districts in the colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, and the eastern division of New-Jersey, to collect all the
Salt-

Salt-Petre and Brimstone in their several towns and districts, and transmit the same, with all possible dispatch, to the Provincial Convention at New-York.

That it be recommended to the Provincial Convention of the colony of New-York, to have the powder-mills in that colony put into such a condition, as immediately to manufacture into powder, for the use of the continent, whatever materials may be procured in the manner above directed.

That it be recommended to the Committees of the western division of New-Jersey, and of the colonies of Pennsylvania, Lower counties on Delaware and Maryland, that they, without delay, collect the Salt-Petre and Sulphur in their respective colonies, and transmit the same to the Committee for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, to the end that those articles may be immediately manufactured into Gun-Powder for the use of the continent.

That it be recommended to the Conventions and Committees of the colonies of Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, that they, without delay, collect the Salt-Petre and Sulphur in their respective colonies, and procure these articles to be manufactured as soon as possible into Gun-powder for the use of the continent.

That it be recommended to the several inhabitants of the United Colonies, who are possessed of Salt-Petre and Sulphur for their own use, to dispose of them for the purpose of manufacturing Gun-Powder.

That the Salt-Petre and Sulphur collected in consequence of the above resolves of Congress, be paid for out of the continental fund.

That Mr. Paine, Mr. Lee, Mr. Franklin, Mr.

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Schuyler,

Schuyler, and Mr. Johnson, be a Committee to devise ways and means to introduce the manufacture of Salt-Petre in these colonies.

The Committee for examining Governor Skene's letters, &c. having communicated to Congress what they found relative to the dispute between Great Britain and these colonies.

Upon motion, Resolved; That Governor Philip Skene, Lieut. Patrick Moncrieff, and Mr. Landy, be released from their present confinement, and permitted to go at large any where within eight miles of the city between Delaware and Schuylkil, on their parole of honour not to pass those limits, and that they will hold no correspondence with any person whatsoever, on any political subject.

That Mr. Gadsden be added to the Committee for examining Governor Skene's papers, and that said Committee have it in charge to execute the above resolve.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, June 12, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare a resolution for a Fast, brought in their report, which being read, was agreed to as follows:

As the Great Governor of the World, by his supreme and universal Providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purposes of his providential Government; and it being at all times our indispensable duty devoutly to acknowledge his superintending Providence, especially in times of im-

pending danger and public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable justice, as well as to implore his merciful interposition for our deliverance.

This Congress, therefore, considering the present critical alarming and calamitous state of these Colonies, do earnestly recommend that Thursday, the 20th day of July next, be observed by the inhabitants of all the English Colonies on this continent, as a day of public Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer; that we may, with united hearts and voices, unfeignedly confess and deplore our many sins; and offer up our joint supplications to the all-wise, omnipotent, and merciful disposer of all events, humbly beseeching him to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities, to avert those desolating judgments, with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful Sovereign King George the Third, and inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects, that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great-Britain and the American Colonies without further effusion of blood: And that the British nation may be influenced *to regard the things that belong to her peace, before they are hid from her eyes*: That these Colonies may ever be under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests: That the divine blessing may descend and rest upon all our civil rulers, and upon the representatives of the people in their several Assemblies and Conventions, that they may be directed to wise and effectual measures for preserving the union and securing the just rights and privileges of the Colonies: That virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land: And that all America

may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honourable to both: And that her civil and religious privileges may be secured to the latest posterity.

And it is recommended to Christians of all denominations to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labour and recreation on said day.

Ordered, That a copy of the above be signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary, and published in the news-papers and in hand-bills.

The Congress then resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money, and having spent thereon the remainder of the day and the day following, adjourned till Wednesday at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, June 14, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to the standing order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Ward reported that the Committee had come to certain resolutions, which he was ordered to report, but not having come to a conclusion, they desired him to move for leave to sit again.

The Resolutions being read were agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That six companies of expert riflemen be immediately raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia; that each company consist

consist of a Captain, three Lieutenants, four Serjeants, four Corporals, a Drummer or trumpeter, and sixty-eight privates.

That each company, as soon as compleated, march and join the army near Boston, to be there employed as Light Infantry, under the command of the chief officer in that army.

That the pay of the officers and privates be as follows, viz. a captain twenty dollars per month; a lieutenant thirteen dollars and one third of a dollar per month; a serjeant eight dollars per month; a corporal seven dollars and one third of a dollar per month; a drummer or trumpeter the same; privates six dollars and two-thirds of a dollar per month; to find their own arms and clothes.

That the form of the enlistment be in the following words:

I, _____ have this day voluntarily enlisted myself as a soldier in the American Continental Army for one year, unless sooner discharged: And I do bind myself to conform in all instances to such rules and regulations, as are or shall be established for the government of the said army.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare Rules and Regulations for the government of the army.

The following persons were chosen to compose that Committee, Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hewes.

A letter from the Convention of New-York, dated the 10th instant, respecting a vessel which is stopped there, on suspicion of having on board provisions for the army and navy at Boston, was read and referred to the Delegates of Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, and New-York.

Resolved,

Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into farther consideration the ways and means of raising money and the state of America. This to be a standing order, until the business is completed.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, June 15, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee, to whom the letter from the Convention of New York was referred, brought in their report, which being read,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Congress be given to the Convention of New York, for their vigilance in the case of Captain Coffin's vessel, and that it be recommended to them that the vessel be unloaded, and the cargo safely stored, until all just suspicions concerning the destination of it shall be removed.

Ordered, That the above be transmitted by the President, in a letter to the Chairman of the Convention of New York.

Agreeable to order the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the Committee had come to some farther resolutions, which he was ordered to report.

The report of the Committee being read and considered,

Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the Continental Forces, raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty.

That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expences of the General.

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The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and **GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;** was unanimously elected.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The President informed Col. Washington that the Congress had yesterday unanimously made choice of him to be General and Commander in Chief of the American forces, and requested he would accept of that employment. To which Col. Washington, standing in his place, answered:

Mr. President,

“ Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“ But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

“ As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expences. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”

Resolved,

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to draught a Commission and Instructions for the General.

The persons chosen to compose the Committee, were Mr. Lee, Mr. E. Rutledge, and Mr. J. Adams.

The papers transmitted from the Convention of New York being read,

Resolved, That the same be referred to a Committee of five, and that they report what steps, in their opinion, are necessary to be taken for securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian nations.

The following persons chosen for this committee, viz. Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Henry, Mr. Duane, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. P. Livingston.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the report from the committee of the whole, and came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That two Major-Generals be appointed for the American army.

That the pay of each of the Major-Generals be *one hundred and sixty-six Dollars* per month.

That when any of these act in a separate department, he be allowed for his pay and expences *three hundred and thirty-two Dollars* per month.

That there be eight Brigadiers-General.

That the pay of each of the Brigadiers-General be *one hundred and twenty-five Dollars* per month.

That there be one Adjutant-General.

That his pay be *one hundred and twenty-five Dollars* per month.

That there be one Commissary-General of stores and provisions.

That his pay be *eighty Dollars* per month.

That there be one Quarter-Master General for the Grand Army, and one Deputy under him for the separate army.

That

That the pay of the Quarter-Master General be *eighty Dollars* per month, and that of the Deputy *forty Dollars* per month.

That there be one Pay-master General, and a Deputy under him for the army in a separate department; that the pay for the Paymaster General himself be *one hundred Dollars* per month, and for the Deputy Paymaster under him *fifty Dollars* per month.

That there be one chief Engineer at the Grand Army, and that his pay be *sixty Dollars* per month.

That two assistants be employed under him, and that the pay of each of them be *twenty Dollars* per month.

That there be one chief Engineer for the army in a separate department, and two Assistants under him; that the pay of the chief Engineer be *sixty Dollars* per month, and the pay of the Assistants each *twenty Dollars* per month.

That there be three Aids de Camp; and that their pay be *thirty Dollars* per month each.

That there be a Secretary to the General; and that his pay be *sixty-six Dollars* per month.

That there be a Secretary to the Major General acting in a separate department, and that his pay be *thirty three Dollars* per month.

That there be a Commissary of the Musters.

A letter from the Convention of New-York, received by express, was laid before the Congress, and read, and the same being taken into consideration,

Resolved, That the Provincial Convention of New York be desired immediately to apply to Governor Trumbull to order the Connecticut troops now stationed at Greenwich, Stamford, and parts adjacent, to march towards New York.

Adjourned till to-morrow at nine o'clock.

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SATURDAY,

SATURDAY, June 17, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to draught a Commission to the General, reported the same, which being read by paragraphs and debated, was agreed to as follows:

In C O N G R E S S.

The DELEGATES of the UNITED COLONIES of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South Carolina.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq.

WE reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, do; by these presents constitute and appoint you, to be General and Commander in Chief of the Army of the United Colonies, and of all the Forces now raised or to be raised by them, and of all others, who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof: And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties. And we do also enjoin and require you, to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline
and

and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessaries.

And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war (as herewith given you) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of these United Colonies or Committee of Congress.

This Commission to continue in force, until revoked by this or a future Congress.

By Order of the Congress.

Ordered, That the same be fairly transcribed, signed by the President, attested by the Secretary, and delivered to the General.

Resolved unanimously. Whereas the Delegates of all the Colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, in Congress assembled, have unanimously chosen *George Washington*, Esq; to be General and Commander in Chief of such forces as are or shall be raised for the maintenance and preservation of American Liberty; this Congress doth now declare, that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him the said *George Washington*, with their lives and fortunes in the same cause.

The Congress then proceeded to the choice of the Officers in the army by ballot.

Artemus Ward, Esq, was chosen first Major General.

Horatio Gates, Esq: Adjutant General.

Resolved, That *Horatio Gates*, Esq; now chosen Adjutant General, shall have the rank of Brigadier General.

Charles Lee, Esq; second Major General.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'clock.

MON-

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The President laid before the Congress sundry letters he had received from Massachusetts-Bay and New-York, which were read.

Ordered, That Mr. Henry, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. J. Adams, be a Committee to wait upon General Lee, and to inform him of his appointment, and request his answer whether he will accept the command.

The Committee returned and reported, that they had waited on General Lee, and informed him of his appointment, and that he gave for answer, " That he had the highest sense of the honour conferred upon him by the Congress; that no effort in his power shall be wanting to serve the American cause."

The letters from Massachusetts-Bay being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following resolve :

That the Governor of Connecticut be requested to direct all the forces raised in that colony, not employed at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, or recommended by this Congress to be marched towards New-York, to be immediately sent to join the combined army before Boston : And it is earnestly recommended to the colony of Rhode-Island, and to the provincial Convention of New-Hampshire, to send immediately to the army before Boston, such of the forces as are already embodied towards their quotas of the troops agreed to be raised by the New-England colonies.

Resolved, That Mr. Lee, Mr. E. Rutledge, and Mr. J. Adams, be a Committee to prepare the form of a commission for the Major Generals, also for the Brigadier Generals, and other officers in the army.

Resolved

Resolved, That there be four Major Generals.

The Congress then proceeded to chuse the two remaining Major Generals, when *Philip Schuyler*, Esq; was chosen third Major General, and *Israel Putnam*, Esq; was unanimously chosen fourth Major General.

The Committee appointed to prepare the form of a Commission for the Major and Brigadier Generals, reported the same, which being agreed,

Ordered, That a copy thereof be made out, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary, for each of the Major Generals and Brigadier Generals.

Ordered, That the Secretary get a number of Commissions, with proper blanks, printed for the other officers.

The Committee appointed to prepare a Petition to the King, reported a draught of one, which was read.

Adjourned till to-morrow 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare instructions to the General, reported the same, which being read and debated, were agreed to.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Thomas Jefferson appeared as a Delegate from the colony of Virginia, and produced his credentials, which were read and approved, and are as follows :

At a Convention of the Delegates for the counties and corporations in the colony of Virginia, at the town of Richmond, in the town of Henrico, on Monday, 27th March, 1775.

On

On a motion made, *Resolved*, That Thomas Jefferson, Esq. be appointed a deputy to represent this colony in General Congress, in the room of the honourable Peyton Randolph, Esq. in case of the non-attendance of the said Peyton-Randolph, Esq. *Attest.* JOHN TAZEWELL, *Clerk of Convention.*

At a General Assembly, began and held at the Capitol, in the city of Williamsburg, on Thursday 1st June, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our Lord George the Third, by the grace of God of Great-Britain, &c. A. D. 1775.

Monday, 5th June, 15th G. III. 1775.

Resolved, N. C. D. That this House doth entirely approve of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Convention of Delegates for the counties and corporations, in the colony of Virginia, held at Richmond town, in the county of Henrico, the 20th of March, 1775; and that it be recommended to all the good people of this colony strictly to conform to, and observe the same.

By the House of Burgesses,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, Speaker.

Mr. Henry informed the Congress, that the General had put into his hand sundry queries, to which he desired the Congress would give an answer.

The queries being read and debated,

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare proper answers.

The persons chosen were Mr. Dean, Mr. Henry, Mr. J. Ruledge, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. Lee.

On a motion made, *Resolved*, That the General be allowed three Aids de Camp.

That

That each of the Major-Generals have two Aids de Camp.

That their pay be thirty-three dollars per month each.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

T H U R S D A Y, June 22, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare answers to the General's queries reported the same, which were read.

The Congress then came to the following Resolutions :

Resolved, That the number of Brigadier-Generals be augmented to eight ; and the same were chosen by ballot as follows :

Seth Pomeroy, Esq; first Brigadier-General.

Richard Montgomery, Esq; second ditto.

David Wooster, Esq; third ditto.

William Heath, Esq; fourth ditto.

Joseph Spencer, Esq; fifth ditto.

John Thomas, Esq; sixth ditto.

John Sullivan, Esq; seventh ditto.

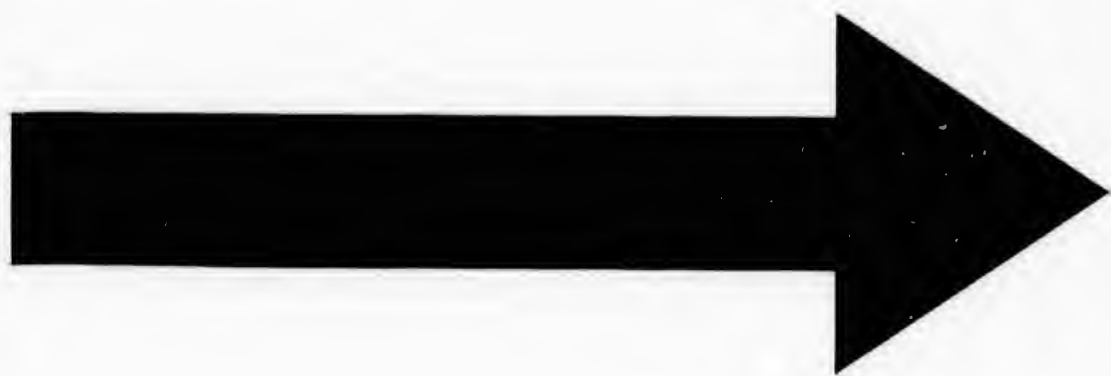
Nathaniel Green, Esq; eighth ditto,

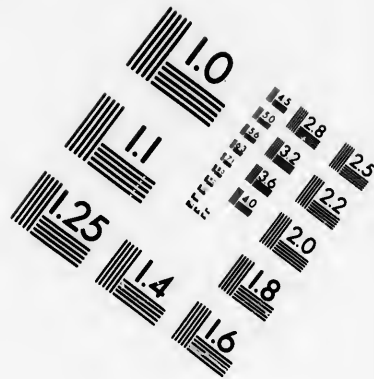
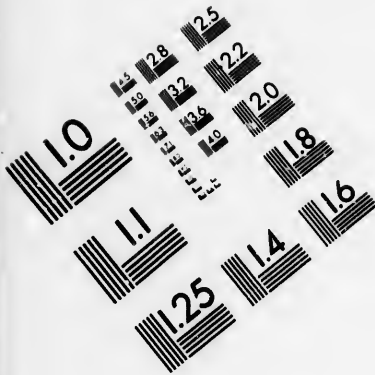
Resolved, That the troops, including the volunteers, be furnished with Camp equipage and blankets, where necessary, at the Continental expence.

Resolved, That the officers now in the army, receive their new Commissions through the hands of the General.

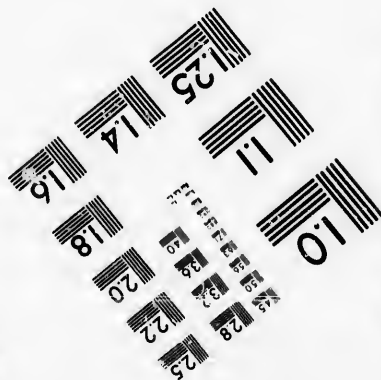
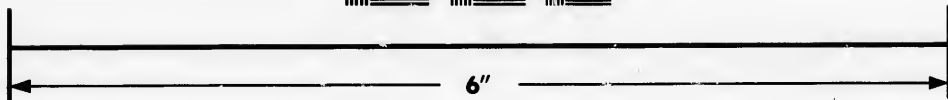
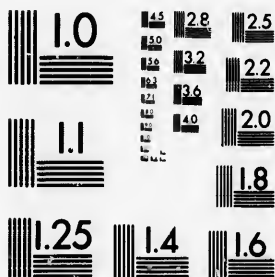
Resolved, That a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled Dollars, be emitted by the Congress in bills of credit, for the defence of America.

Resolved,



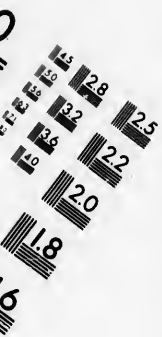


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Resolved, That the Twelve confederated Colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit, now directed to be emitted.

Upon motion made, *Resolved*, That the Colony of Pennsylvania raise two more companies of riflemen, and that these, with the six before ordered to be by them raised, making eight companies, be formed into a battalion, to be commanded by such Field-Officers, Captains and Lieutenants as shall be recommended by the Assembly or Convention of said Colony.

Adjourned till to-morrow 9 o'clock.

T U E S D A Y, June 23, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

A letter from Crown-Point, dated June 10, was laid before the Congress and read. Information being given, that two officers who brought the letter were at the door, and had some things of importance to communicate.

Ordered, That they be introduced, and they were introduced. After they withdrew, the Congress came to the following Resolutions, viz.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the officer commanding in the New-York department, to procure, as soon as possible, a list of the men employed in taking and garrisoning Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, and keeping possession of the lakes, and also of their disbursements in order that they may be paid.

Resolved, That their pay be the same as that of the officers and privates in the American army; the highest of the officers not to exceed that of a Captain, and that the pay commence the third day of May last, and continue till they are discharged.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Convention of New-York, that they, consulting with General Schuyler, employ in the army to be raised for the defence of America, those called the Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the said Green Mountain Boys shall chuse.

On a motion made, *Resolved*, That a Committee of five be chosen to draw up a Declaration to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the camp before Boston.

The Committee chosen are Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Johnson.

Argeable to order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committe of the whole, to take into further consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported certain Resolutions come into by them, and that not having yet finished, they desired leave to sit again.

The Report of the Committee being read, was agreed to as follows :

Resolved, That the number and denomination of the bills to be emitted, be as follows :

49,000	Bills of 8 Dollars each	=	392,000
49,000	Do. of 7 Dollars each	=	343,000
49,000	Do. of 6 Dollars each	=	294,000
49,000	Do. of 5 Dollars each	=	245,000
49,000	Do. of 4 Dollars each	=	196,000
49,000	Do. of 3 Dollars each	=	147,000
49,000	Do. of 2 Dollars each	=	98,000
49,000	Do. of 1 Dollar each	=	49,000
11,000	Do. of 20 Dollars each	=	236,000

Total 403,800

2,000,000

N

Resolved,

Resolved,

Resolved, That the form of the bills be as follows:

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

N **DOLLARS.**

THIS bill entitles the bearer to receive Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof, in gold or silver, according to the resolutions of the Congress, held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May, A. D. 1775.

Resolved, That Mr. J. Adams, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. Daune, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Wilson, be a Committee to get proper plates engraved, to provide paper, and to agree with printers to print the above bills.

The order for a Committee of the whole renewed; and the Congress adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, June 24, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

On a motion made, *Resolved*, That a Committee of seven be appointed to devise ways and means to put the militia of America in a proper state for the defence of America.

The members chosen are Mr. Paine, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Gadsden, and Mr. Dickenson.

The Committee appointed to prepare a declaration to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the camp before Boston, brought in their report, which was read and debated; and after some time, referred for farther consideration till Monday next.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'clock.

MON-

MONDAY, June 26, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

A letter from Governor Trumbull was read, and referred to the Committee appointed to devise ways and means for introducing the manufacture of salt-petre into these colonies.

The state of North-Carolina being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following resolutions.

Whereas it is represented to this Congress, that the enemies of the liberties of America are pursuing measures to divide the good people of the colony of North Carolina, and to defeat the American Association.

Resolved, That it may be recommended to all in that colony, who wish well to the liberties of America, to associate for the defence of American liberty, and to embody themselves as militia, under proper officers.

Resolved, That in case the assembly or convention of that colony, shall think it absolutely necessary for the support of the American Association and safety of the colony, to raise a body of forces not exceeding one thousand men, this Congress will consider them as an American army, and provide for their pay.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the declaration, and after some debate,

Resolved, That it be re-committed, and that Mr. Dickenson and Mr. Jefferson be added to the Committee.

The committee for Indian affairs brought in their report, which was read.

Ordered, That the President write to Governor Trumbull, and inform him, and also the Conventions of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay, and the government of Rhode Island, that the Congress have appointed George Washington, Esq; Commander in Chief of all the Forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of America.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, June 27, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That Governor Skene be sent under a guard to Weathersfield, or Middletown, in the county of Hartford, in Connecticut, there to be confined on his parole, not to go out of the bounds prescribed to him by Governor Trumbull.

Ordered, That the Delegates for Pennsylvania, take measures to have the above resolve carried into execution.

A letter from the Convention of Massachusetts Bay, received by express, was laid before the Congress and read.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the state of affairs in the New York department, and after some time spent therein, came to certain resolutions, which were ordered to be immediately transmitted to General Schuyler for his direction.

The committee appointed to draw up an Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, reported the same, which was read.

Adjourned till to-morrow at nine o'clock.

WEDNES-

WEDNESDAY, June 28, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare a draught of Rules and Regulations for the government of the Army, reported the same, which was read and taken into consideration. And the remainder of the day, and the day following being spent thereon, adjourned till next day at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, June 30, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the Rules and Regulations, which being gone through were agreed to, as follows:

Whereas his Majesty's most faithful subjects in these Colonies are reduced to a dangerous and critical situation, by the attempts of the British Ministry, to carry into execution, by force of arms, several unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the British Parliament for laying taxes in America, to enforce the collection of those taxes, and for altering and changing the constitution and internal police of some of these Colonies, in violation of the natural and civil rights of the Colonies.

And whereas hostilities has been actually commenced in the Massachusetts-Bay, by the British troops, under the command of General Gage, and the lives of a number of the inhabitants of that Colony destroyed; the town of Boston not only having been long occupied as a garrisoned town in

an enemies country, but the inhabitants thereof treated with a severity and cruelty not to be justified even towards declared enemies.

And whereas large reinforcements have been ordered, and are soon expected, for the declared purpose of compelling these colonies to submit to the operation of the said acts, which hath rendered it necessary, and an indispensable duty for the express purpose of securing and defending these colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the said acts into execution; that an armed force be raised sufficient to defeat such hostile designs, and preserve and defend the lives, liberties and immunities of the colonists; for the due regulating and well ordering of which,

Resolved, That the following RULES and ORDERS be attended to, and observed by such forces as are or may hereafter be raised for the purposes aforesaid.

Article 1. That every officer who shall be retained, and every soldier who shall serve in the Continental Army, shall at the time of his acceptance of his commission or enlistment, subscribe these rules and regulations. And that the officers and soldiers, already of that army, shall also as soon as may be subscribe the same; from the time of which subscription every officer and soldier shall be bound by those regulations. But if any of the officers or soldiers, now of the said army, do not subscribe these rules and regulations, then they may be retained in the said army, subject to the rules and regulations under which they entered into the service,
or

or be discharged from the service, at the option of the Commander in Chief.

Art. 2. It is earnestly recommended to all officers and soldiers diligently to attend Divine Service; and all officers and soldiers, who shall behave indecently or irreverently at any place of Divine Worship, shall, if commissioned officers, be brought before a court-martial, there to be publicly and severely reprimanded by the President; if non-commissioned officers or soldiers, every person so offending, shall, for his first offence forfeit one sixth of a dollar, to be deducted out of his next pay; for the second offence, he shall not only forfeit a like sum, but be confined for twenty-four hours; and for every like offence, shall suffer and pay in like manner, which money so forfeited shall be applied to the use of the sick soldiers of the troop or company to which the offender belongs.

Art. 3.—Whatsoever non-commissioned officer or soldier shall use any profane oath or execration, shall incur the penalties expressed in the foregoing article; and if a commissioned officer be thus guilty of profane cursing or swearing, he shall forfeit and pay for each and every such offence, the sum of four shillings, lawful money.

Art. 4. Any officer or soldier, who shall behave himself with contempt or disrespect towards the General or Generals, or Commanders in Chief of the Continental Forces, or shall speak false words, tending to his, or their hurt, or dishonour, shall be punished, according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a general Court-Martial.

Art.

Art. 5. Any officer or soldier, who shall begin, excite, cause or join in any mutiny or sedition, in the regiment, troop, or company, to which he belongs, or in any other regiment, troop or company of the Continental Forces, either by land or sea, or in any part, post, detachment, or guard, on any pretence whatsoever, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court martial shall be ordered.

Art. 6. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who being present at any mutiny or sedition, does not use his utmost endeavours to suppress the same, or coming to the knowledge of any mutiny, or intended mutiny, does not, without delay, give information thereof to the commanding officer, shall be punished by order of a general court martial, according to the nature of his offence.

Art. 7. Any officer, or soldier, who shall strike his superior officer, or draw or offer to draw, or shall lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, on any pretence whatsoever, or shall disobey any lawful commands of his superior officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall, according to the nature of his offence, be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 8. Any non-commissioned officer or soldier, who shall desert, or without leave of his commanding officer, absent himself from the troop or company to
which

which he belongs; or from any detachment of the same, shall, upon being convicted thereof, be punished according to the nature of his offence, at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 9. Whatsoever officer or soldier shall be convicted of having advised or persuaded any other officer or soldier to desert, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 10. All officers, of what condition soever, shall have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and disorders, though the persons concerned should belong to another regiment, troop or company; and either order officers to be arrested, or non-commissioned officers or soldiers to be confined and imprisoned, till their proper superior officers shall be acquainted therewith; and whoever shall refuse to obey such officer (tho' of an inferior rank) or shall draw his sword upon him, shall be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 11. No officer or soldier shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another; nor shall presume to send a challenge to any person to fight a duel: And whoever shall knowingly and willingly suffer any person whatsoever to go forth to fight a duel; or shall second, promote, or carry any challenge, shall be deemed as a principal: And whatsoever officer or soldier shall upbraid another for refusing a challenge, shall also be considered as a challenger: And all such offenders, in any of these or such like cases, shall be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 12. Every officer commanding in quarters, or on a march, shall keep good order, and; to the utmost of his power, redress all such abuses or disorders which may be committed by any officer or soldier under his command: If upon any complaint being made to him, of officers or soldiers beating, or otherwise ill-treating any person, or of committing any kind of riot, to the disquieting of the inhabitants of this continent; he the said commander, who shall refuse or omit to see justice done on the offender or offenders, and reparation made to the party or parties injured, as far as the offenders wages shall enable him or them, shall, upon due proof thereof, be punished as ordered by a general court-martial, in such manner as if he himself had committed the crimes or disorders complained of.

Art. 13. If any officer should think himself to be wronged by his Colonel or the commanding officer of the regiment, and shall, upon due application made to him, be refused to be redressed, he may complain to the General or Commander in Chief of the Continental Forces, in order to obtain justice, who is hereby required to examine into said complaint, and see that justice be done.

Art. 14. If any inferior officer or soldier, shall think himself wronged by his Captain or other officer commanding the troop or company to which he belongs, he is to complain thereof to the commanding officer of the regiment, who is

hereby

hereby required to summon a regimental court-martial, for the doing justice to the complainant; from which regimental court-martial, either party may, if he thinks himself still aggrieved, appeal to a general court-martial; but if, upon a second hearing, the appeal shall appear to be vexatious and groundless, the person so appealing, shall be punished at the discretion of the general court-martial.

Art. 15. Whatsoever non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall be convicted, at a regimental court-martial, of having sold, or designedly, or through neglect wasted the ammunition, arms, or provisions, or other military stores, delivered to him, to be employed in the service of this continent, shall if an officer, be reduced to a private sentinel; and if a private soldier, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

Art. 16. All non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall be found one mile from the Camp, without leave in writing from their commanding officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted on him or them by the sentence of a regiment court-martial.

Art. 17. No officer or soldier shall lie out of his quarters, or camp, without leave from the commanding officer of the regiment, upon penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offence, by order of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 18. Every non-commissioned officer and soldier shall retire to his quarters, or tent, at the beating of the retreat: in default of which, he shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by order of the commanding officer.

Art. 19. No officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier shall fail of repairing, at the time fixed, to the place of parade or exercise, or other rendezvous appointed by the commanding officer, if not prevented by sickness, or some other evident necessity; or shall go from the said place of rendezvous, or from his guard, without leave from his commanding officer, before he shall be regularly dismissed or relieved, on penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 20. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be found drunk on his guard, party or duty, under arms, shall be cashiered for it; any non-commissioned officer or soldier, so offending, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 21. Whatsoever centinel shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 22. Any person belonging to the Continental Army, who by discharging of fire-arms, beating
of

of drums, or by any other means whatsoever, shall occasion false alarms, in camp or quarters, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 23. Any officer or soldier, who shall, without urgent necessity, or without leave of his superior officer, quit his platoon or division, shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 24. No officer or soldier shall do violence, or offer any insult, or abuse, to any person who shall bring provisions, or other necessaries, to the camp, or quarters of the continental army; any officer or soldier so offending, shall, upon complaint being made to the commanding officer, suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

Art. 25. Whatsoever officer or soldier shall shamefully abandon any post committed to his charge, or shall speak words inducing others to do the like, in time of an engagement, shall suffer death immediately.

Art. 26. Any person belonging to the continental army, who shall make known the watch-word to any person who is not intitled to receive it, according to the rules and discipline of war, or shall presume to give a parole, or watch-word, different from what he received, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 27. Whosoever, belonging to the continental army, shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals,

victuals, or ammunition; or shall knowingly harbour or protect an enemy, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 28. Whosoever, belonging to the continental army, shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or of giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 29. All public stores taken in the enemy's camp or magazines, whether of artillery, ammunition, cloathing or provisions, shall be secured for the use of the United Colonies.

Art. 30. If any officer or soldier shall leave his post or colours, in time of an engagement, to go in search of plunder, he shall, upon being convicted thereof before a general court-martial, suffer such punishment as by said court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 31. If any commander of any post, intrenchment, or fortress, shall be *compelled* by the officers or soldiers under his command to give it up to the enemy, or to abandon it, the commissioned officer, non-commissioned-officers or soldiers who shall be convicted of having so offended, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as may be inflicted upon them by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 32. All suttlers and retailers to a camp, and all persons whatsoever, serving with the continental army in the field, though not enlisted soldiers, are to be subject to the articles, rules, and regulations of the continental army.

Art.

Art. 33. No general court-martial shall consist of a less number than thirteen, none of which shall be under the degree of a commissioned officer; and the president shall be a field officer: And the president of each and every court-martial, whether general or regimental, shall have power to administer an oath to every witness, in order to the trial of offenders. And the members of all courts-martial shall be duly sworn by the president; and the next in rank on the court-martial shall administer the oath to the president.

Art. 34. The members, both of general and regimental courts-martial, shall, when belonging to different corps, take the same rank which they hold in the army; but when courts-martial shall be composed of officers of one corps, they shall take their ranks according to their commissions by which they are mustered in the said corps.

Art. 35. All the members of a court-martial, are to behave with calmness, decency, and impartiality; and in giving of their votes, are to begin with the youngest or lowest in commission.

Art. 36. No field officer shall be tried by any person under the degree of a captain; nor shall any proceedings or trials be carried on, excepting between the hours of eight in the morning, and three in the afternoon, except in cases which require an immediate example.

Art. 37. The commissioned officers of every regiment may, by the appointment of their colonel or commanding officer, hold regimental courts-

Art.

courts-martial for the enquiring into such disputes or criminal matters as may come before them, and for the inflicting corporal punishments, for small offences, and shall give judgment, by the majority of voices; but no sentence shall be executed till the commanding officer (not being a member of the court-martial) shall have confirmed the same.

Art. 38. No regimental court-martial shall consist of less than five officers, excepting in cases where that number cannot be conveniently assembled, when three may be sufficient; who are likewise to determine upon the sentence by the majority of voices; which sentence is to be confirmed by the commanding officer, not being a member of the court-martial.

Art. 39. Every officer, commanding in any fort, castle, or barrack, or elsewhere, where the corps under his command consists of detachments from different regiments, or of independent companies, may assemble courts-martial for the trial of offenders in the same manner as if they were regimental, whose sentence is not to be executed till it shall be confirmed by the said commanding officer.

Art. 40. No person whatsoever shall use menacing words, signs, or gestures in the presence of a court-martial then sitting, or shall cause any disorder or riot, so as to disturb their proceeding, on the penalty of being punished at the discretion of the said court-martial.

Art. 41. To the end that offenders may be brought to justice; whenever any officer or soldier shall commit a crime deserving punishment,

he shall by his commanding officer, if an officer, be put in arrest; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, be imprisoned till he shall be either tried by a court martial, or shall be lawfully discharged by proper authority.

Art. 42. No officer or soldier who shall be put in arrest, or imprisonment, shall continue in his confinement more than eight days, or till such time as a court-martial can be conveniently assembled.

Art. 43. No officer commanding a guard, or provost marshal, shall refuse to receive or keep any prisoner committed to his charge, by an officer belonging to the continental forces; which officer shall at the same time deliver an account in writing, signed by himself, of the crime with which the said prisoner is charged.

Art. 44. No officer commanding a guard, or provost marshal, shall presume to release any prisoner committed to his charge, without proper authority for so doing; nor shall he suffer any prisoner to escape, on the penalty of being punished for it, by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 45. Every officer or provost marshal, to whose charge prisoners shall be committed, is hereby required, within twenty-four hours after such commitment, or as soon as he shall be relieved from his guard, to give in writing to the colonel of the regiment to whom the prisoner belongs (where the prisoner is confined upon the guard belonging to the said regiment, and that his offence only relates to the neglect of duty in his own corps,) or to the
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commander in chief, their names, their crimes, and the names of the officers who committed them, on the penalty of being punished for his disobedience or neglect, at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 46. And if any officer under arrest shall leave his confinement before he is set at liberty by the officer who confined him, or by a superior power, he shall be cashiered for it.

Art. 47. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be convicted before a general court-martial, of behaving in a scandalous infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from the service.

Art. 48. All officers, conductors, gunners, matrosses, drivers, or any other persons whatsoever, receiving pay or hire, in the service of the continental artillery, shall be governed by the aforesaid rules and articles, and shall be subject to be tried by courts-martial, in like manner with the officers and soldiers of the continental troops,

Art. 49. For differences arising among themselves, or in matters relating solely to their own corps, the courts-martial may be composed of their own officers; but where a number sufficient of such officers cannot be assembled, or in matters wherein other corps are interested, the officers of artillery shall sit in courts-martial, with the officers of the other corps.

Art. 50. All crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglects, which officers and soldiers may
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be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offence, and be punished at their discretion.

Art. 51. That no persons shall be sentenced by a court-martial to suffer death, except in the cases expressly mentioned in the foregoing articles; nor shall any punishment be inflicted at the discretion of a court-martial, other than degrading, cashiering, drumming out of the army, whipping not exceeding 39 lashes, fine not exceeding two months pay of the offender, imprisonment not exceeding one month.

Art. 52. The field officers of each and every regiment are to appoint some suitable person belonging to such regiment, to receive all such fines as may arise within the same, for any breach of any of the foregoing articles, and shall direct the same to be carefully and properly applied to the relief of such sick, wounded, or necessitous soldiers, as belong to such regiment; and such person shall account with such officer for all fines received, and the application thereof.

Art. 53. All members sitting in courts-martial shall be sworn by the President of said courts, which President shall himself be sworn by the officer in said court next in rank:—The oath to be administered previous to their proceeding to the trial of any offender, in form following, viz.

"You A. B. swear that you will well and truly try, and impartially determine the cause of the prisoner now to be tried, according to the rules for regulating the Continental Army. So help you God."

Art. 54. All persons called to give evidence, in any case, before a court-martial, who shall refuse to give evidence, shall be punished for such refusal, at the discretion of such court-martial. The oath to be administered in the following form, viz.

"You swear the evidence you shall give in the case now in hearing, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God."

Art. 55. Every officer commanding a regiment, troop, or company, shall, upon notice given to him by the commissary of the musters, or from one of his deputies, assemble the regiment, troop, or company under his command, in the next convenient place for their being mustered.

Art. 56. Every colonel or other field officer, or officer commanding any corps, to which there is no field officer, and actually residing with it, may give furloughs to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, in such numbers, and for so long a time, as he shall judge to be most consistent with the good of the service; but no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall, by leave of his captain, or inferior officer, commanding the troop or company (his field officer not being present) be absent above twenty days in six months, nor shall more than

than two private men be absent at the same time from their troop or company, excepting some extraordinary occasion shall require it, of which occasion the field officer present with, and commanding the regiment or independant corps, is to be judge.

Art. 57. At every muster the commanding officer of each regiment, troop, or company, then present, shall give to the commissary of musters certificates signed by himself, signifying how long such officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who shall not appear at the said muster, have been absent, and the reason of their absence; which reasons, and the time of absence, shall be inserted in the muster rolls, opposite to the respective names of such absentees: The said certificates shall, together with the muster rolls, be by the said commissary transmitted to the General, and to this or any future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee appointed thereby, within twenty days next after such muster being taken; on failure whereof, the commissary so offending, shall be discharged from the service.

Art. 58. Every officer who shall be convicted before a general court-martial of having signed a false certificate, relating to the absence of either officers, non-commissioned officer, or private soldier, shall be cashiered.

Art. 59. Every officer who shall knowingly make a false muster of man or horse, and every officer or commissary, who shall willingly sign, direct,

or allow the signing of the muster-rolls, wherein such false muster is contained, shall, upon proof made thereof, by two witnesses, before a general court-martial be cashiered, and moreover forfeit all such pay as may be due to him at the time of conviction for such offence.

Art. 60. Any commissary who shall be convicted of having taken any gift or gratuity on the mustering any regiment, troop or company, or on the signing the muster rolls, shall be displaced from his office, and forfeit his pay as in the preceding article.

Art. 61. Any officer who shall presume to muster any person as a soldier, who is at other times accustomed to wear a livery, or who does not actually do his duty as a soldier, shall be deemed guilty of having made a false muster, and shall suffer accordingly.

Art. 62. Every officer who shall knowingly make a false return to the commander in chief of the American forces, or to any his superior officer, authorised to call for such returns, of the state of the regiment, troop, independent company, or garrison, under his command, or of arms, ammunition, cloathing or other stores thereunto belonging, shall, by a court-martial, be cashiered.

Art. 63. The commanding officer of every regiment, troop, independent company, or garrison, in the service aforesaid, shall, in the beginning of every month remit to the commander in chief of said forces an exact return of the state of the regiment, troop, independent company, or garrison under his command, specifying the names of the officers not then residing at their posts, and the reason for, and
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time of their absence : Whoever shall be convicted of having, through neglect or design, omitted the sending such returns, shall be punished according to the nature of his crime by the judgment of a general court-martial.

Art. 64. No sutler shall be permitted to sell any kind of liquors or victuals, or to keep their houses or shops open, for the entertainment of soldiers, after nine at night, or before the beating of the reveilles, or upon Sundays, during divine service or sermon, on the penalty of being dismissed from all future suttlng.

Art. 65. All officers commanding in the camp, or in any forts, barracks, or garrisons, are hereby required to see that the persons permitted to suttle, shall supply the soldiers with good and wholesome provisions at a reasonable price, as they shall be answerable for their neglect.

Art. 66. No officers commanding in any camp, garrisons, forts or barracks, shall either themselves exact exorbitant prices for houses or stalls, let out to suttlers, or shall connive at the like exactions in others, nor lay any duty or impositions upon, or be interested in the sale of such victuals, liquors, or other necessaries of life, which are brought into the camp, garrison, fort, or barracks, for the use of the soldiers, on the penalty of being discharged from the service.

Art. 67. That the General, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall have full power of pardoning

pardoning, or mitigating any of the punishments ordered to be inflicted, for any of the offences mentioned in the foregoing articles; and every offender convicted as aforesaid, by any regimental court-martial, may be pardoned, or have his punishment mitigated by the Colonel, or officer commanding the regiment.

Art. 68. When any commissioned officer shall happen to die, or be killed in the service of the United Colonies, the Major of the regiment, or the officer doing the Major's duty in his absence, shall immediately secure all his effects, or equipage then in camp or quarters; and shall before the next regimental court-martial, make an inventory thereof, and forthwith transmit to the office of the Secretary of the Congress, or Assembly of the province in which the corps is stationed, or shall happen to be at the time of the death of such officer; to the end, that his executors may, after payment of his debts in quarters, and interment, receive the overplus, if any be, to his or their use.

Art. 69. When any non-commissioned officer or private soldier shall happen to die, or be killed in the service of the United Colonies, the then commanding officer of the troop or company, shall, in the presence of two other commissioned officers, take an account of whatever effects he dies possessed of, and transmit the same, as in the case above pro-

vided for, in order that the same may be secured for, and paid to their respective representatives.*

*In CONGRESS, November 7, 1775.

Resolved, That the following additions and alterations or amendments, be made in the RULES and REGULATIONS of the Continental Army, viz.

1. All persons convicted of holding a treacherous correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall think proper.

2. All commissioned officers found guilty by a general court-martial of any fraud or embezzlement, shall forfeit all his pay, be *ipso facto* cashiered, and deemed unfit for farther service as an officer.

3. All non-commissioned officers and soldiers convicted before a regimental court-martial of stealing, embezzling or destroying ammunition, provisions, tools or any thing belonging to the public stores, if a non-commissioned officer, to be reduced to the ranks, and punished with whipping, not less than *fifteen*, nor more than *thirty-nine* lashes, at the discretion of the court-martial; if a private soldier, with the same corporal punishment.

4. In all cases where a commissioned officer is cashiered for cowardice or fraud, it be added in the punishment, that the crime, name, place of abode, and punishment of the delinquent be published in the News-papers, in and about the Camp, and of that Colony from which the offender came or usually resides: After which it shall be deemed scandalous in any officer to associate with him.

5. Any officer or soldier, who shall begin, excite, cause, or join in any mutiny or sedition in the regiment, troop; or company to which he belongs, or in any other regiment, troop, or company of the continental forces, either by land or sea, or in any party, post, detachment, or guard, on any pretence whatsoever, shall suffer death or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall direct.

6. Any officer or soldier who shall desert to the enemy, and afterwards be taken, shall suffer death; or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall direct.

7. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be found drunk on his guard, party, or other duty under arms, shall be cashiered and drummed out of the army with infamy; any non-commissioned officer or soldier, so offending, shall be sentenced to

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Ordered, That Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing and Mr. Hewes, be a Committee to revise them for the press, and to get them printed.

be whipt, not less than *twenty* nor more than *thirty-nine* lashes, according to the nature of the offence.

8. Whatsoever officer or soldier, placed as centinal, shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, if a commissioned officer, shall be cashiered and drummed out of the army with infamy; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall be sentenced to be whipped, not less than *twenty* nor more than *thirty-nine* lashes, according to the nature of the offence.

9. No officer or soldier shall lie out of his quarters or camp, without leave from the commanding officer of the regiment, upon penalty, if any officer, of being mulcted one month's pay for the first offence, and cashiered for the second; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, of being confined seven days on bread and water for the first offence, and the same punishment and a forfeiture of a week's pay for the second.

10. Whatsoever officer or soldier shall misbehave himself before the enemy, or shamefully abandon any post committed to his charge, or shall speak words inducing others to do the like, shall suffer death.

11. All public stores taken in the enemy's camp or magazines, whether of artillery, ammunition, cloathing, or provisions, shall be secured for the use of the United Colonies. And all commissioned officers found guilty by a general court-martial, of embezzling the same, or any of them, shall forfeit all his pay, be *ipso facto* cashiered, and deemed unfit for farther service as an officer. And all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, convicted before a regimental court-martial of stealing or embezzling the same, if a non-commissioned officer, shall be reduced to the ranks, and punished with whipping, not less than *fifteen*, nor more than *thirty-nine* lashes, at the discretion of the court-martial, if a private soldier, with the same punishment.

12. If any officer or soldier shall leave his post or colours, in time of an engagement, to go in search of plunder, he shall, if a commissioned officer be cashiered and drummed out of the army with infamy, and forfeit all share of plunder; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, be whipped, not less than *twenty*, nor more than *thirty-nine* lashes, according to the nature of the offence, and forfeit all share of plunder taken from the enemy.

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Resolved, That the Congress will on Monday next resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to consider the trade of these Colonies.

13. Every officer commanding a regiment, troop, or company, shall, upon notice given to him by the commissary of the musters, or from one of his deputies, assemble the regiment, troop, or company under his command, in the next convenient place for their being mustered, on penalty of his being cashiered, and mulcted of his pay.

14. At every muster, the commanding officer of each regiment, troop, or company, there present, shall give to the commissary of musters certificates, signed by himself, signifying how long such officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who shall not appear at the said muster, have been absent, and the reason of their absence, which reasons and the time of absence, shall be inserted in the muster rolls, opposite to the names of such absentees: And the surgeons or their mates, shall at the same time give to the Commissary of musters a certificate signed by them, signifying the state of health or sickness of those under their care, and the said certificates shall, together with the muster rolls, be by the said Commissary transmitted to the General, and to this or any future Congress of the United Colonies or Committee appointed thereby, within twenty days next after such muster being taken, on failure whereof, the Commissary so offending, shall be discharged from the service.

15. Every officer who shall be convicted, before a general court-martial, of having signed a false certificate relating to the absence of either officer, non-commissioned officer, or private soldier; and every Surgeon or Mate convicted of signing a false certificate, relating to the health or sickness of those under his care, shall be cashiered.

16. All officers and soldiers who shall wilfully, or through negligence, disobey any general or special orders, shall be punished at the discretion of a regimental court-martial, where the offence is against a regimental order, and at the discretion of a general court-martial, where the offence is against an order given from the commander in chief, or the commanding officer of any detachment or post, and such general court-martial can be had.

A number of letters and speeches from the Stockbridge Indians were laid before the Congress and read.

Resolved, That the Committee for Indian affairs, do prepare proper talks to the several tribes of Indians, for engaging the continuance of their friendship to us, and neutrality in our present unhappy dispute with Great-Britain.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

S A T U R D A Y, July 1, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That in case any agent of the ministry shall induce the Indian tribes, or any of them, to commit actual hostilities against these colonies, or to enter into an offensive alliance with the British troops, thereupon the colonies ought to avail themselves of an alliance with such Indian nations as will enter into the same, to oppose such British troops and their Indian allies.

Letters being received by express from General Schuyler, which required an immediate answer, were laid before Congress, and after due deliberation, an answer was returned.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That Lieutenant Patrick Moncrief have liberty to return to England, on giving his parole of honour, that he will not act against the Americans in the present controversy between Great-Britain and these Colonies.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'clock.

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M O N D A Y, July 3, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Sundry letters being laid before the Congress, were read.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to consider the trade of these colonies, and after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported a resolution they had come to.

The resolution of the committee being read, was at the desire of the colony of South-Carolina, referred for farther consideration till to-morrow.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

T U E S D A Y, July 4, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The report from the committee of the whole, being resumed and debated, was agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That two acts passed in the first session of the present Parliament, the one entitled, "An Act to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantation, in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland and the British Islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such Provinces and Colonies from carrying on any fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein mentioned, under

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under certain conditions and limitations." The other entitled, " An Act to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and South-Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland and the British Islands in the West-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations;" are unconstitutional, oppressive and cruel; and that the commercial opposition of these colonies, to certain acts enumerated in the Association of the last Congress, ought to be made against these, until they are repealed.

Ordered, That the above be immediately published.

The petition to the King being again read, after some debate, the further consideration of it was deferred till to-morrow.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

W E D N E S D A Y, July 5, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Several letters were laid before the Congress and read.

It appearing that Governor Philip Skene and Mr. Lundy have designs inimical to America,

Ordered, That it be recommended to the Delegates of the colony of Pennsylvania, to have the order of Congress of the 27th of June last, respecting the sending Governor Skene to Connecticut, immediately carried into execution.

Resolved, That Mr. Lundy be sent under guard along with Governor Skene to Connecticut, there to be confined in the same manner as is ordered with respect to Governor Skene.

Resolved,

Resolved, That such provision be made for the support of Governor Skene and Mr. Lundy, as Governor Trumbull shall think proper, at the expence of the United Colonies.

Ordered, That the President write to Governor Trumbull on this subject, and enclose him the above orders and resolves.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the petition to the King, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

T H U R S D A Y, July 6, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress took into consideration the address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, and after some debate, the same was re-committed.

The committee to whom the declaration was re-committed brought in the same, which being again read and debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

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Resolved,

A DECLARATION *by the REPRESENTATIVES
of the United Colonies of North-America, now
met in Congress, at Philadelphia, setting forth the
causes and necessity of their taking up Arms.*

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence, intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistable, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great-Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great-Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal, from Reason to Arms. — Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited
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domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great-Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians.— Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great-Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.— Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels.— From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its

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deepest foundations.—The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder.—The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous and useful services during the war, tho' so recently and amply acknowledged, in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations.—Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering, fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed

confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers of colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can "of right make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever.*" What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us; or is subject to our controul or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion, as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal and affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September.

We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure, we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty.—This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy: But subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's Speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address, in the month of February, said, "that a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts-Bay; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."—Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts,

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on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by
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the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several, and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation.— The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General their Governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteemed sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

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The General further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods, and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, " either by name or description, to be rebels and " traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and " order the use and exercise of the law martial." His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine.—We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.—The latter is our choice.—We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.—Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us, We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resign-
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ing succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.—We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves.—With hearts fortified with these animating reflexions, we most solemnly, before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved, to die Freemen rather than to live Slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that Union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored.—Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them.—We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states.—We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any

any imputation, or even suspicion, of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet offer no milder conditions than servitude or death.—

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

On a motion made, *Resolved*, That a letter be prepared to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, expressing the thanks of this Congress, for their virtuous and spirited opposition to the oppressive and ruinous system of Colony Administration adopted by the British Ministry.

Ordered, That the Committee appointed to draught an Address to the people of Great-Britain, do prepare this.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee to whom the Address to the people of Great-Britain was re-committed, brought in the same, which being again read and debated,

ted, the farther consideration thereof was deferred till to-morrow.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The petition to the King being engrossed, was compared at the table and signed by the Members present.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, in behalf of ourselves, and the inhabitants of these Colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our Mother Country and these Colonies, and the energy or mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great-Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary, the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissentions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by check-
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ing the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great-Britain and these Colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion thereof of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British Arms, your loyal colonists, having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late King, and of Parliament, doubted not, but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest,

While these recent and honourable acknowledgements of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations adopted for the administration of the Colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their Mother Country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your Majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these Colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your Majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful Colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your Majesty on
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affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your Majesty; and we therefore pray, that your Majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent, in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded, your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation against these artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of affecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family, and government, with all devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these Colonies may be restored; but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

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We beg leave farther to assure your Majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal Colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions, that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty, and of our Mother Country.

We therefore beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before-mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful Colonists to the Throne, in pursuance of their Common Councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's Colonies, may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your Majesty's

wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced, your Majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the Colonists towards their sovereign and the parent state, that the wished for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate Colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions, with honor to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

The Committee appointed to prepare a letter to the Lord-mayor, &c. reported the same, which was read.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the same Committee prepare a letter to Richard Penn, Esq. and the Colony Agents, by name, in England.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, which being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows :

The Twelve United Colonies by their Delegates in Congress, to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain.

Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren !

BY these, and every other appellation, that may designate the ties, which bind US to each other, we entreat your serious attention to this our second attempt to prevent their dissolution. Remembrance of former friendships, pride in the glorious achievements of our common ancestors and affection for the heirs of their virtues, have hitherto preserved our mutual connection ; but when that friendship is violated by the grossest injuries ; when the pride of ancestry becomes our reproach, and we are no otherwise allied than as tyrants and slaves ;

slaves; when reduced to the melancholy alternative of renouncing your favor, or our Freedom; can we hesitate about the choice? Let the spirit of Britons determine.

In a former Address, we asserted our Rights and stated the injuries we had then received. We hoped, that the mention of our wrongs would have roused that honest indignation, which has slept too long for your honour, or the welfare of the empire. But we have not been permitted to entertain this pleasing expectation. Every day brought an accumulation of injuries, and the invention of the ministry has been constantly exercised, in adding to the calamities of your American Brethren.

After the most valuable right of legislation was infringed; when the powers assumed by your parliament, in which we are not represented, and from our local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented, rendered our property precarious; after being denied that mode of trial, to which we have long been indebted for the safety of our Persons and the preservation of our Liberties; after being in many instances divested of those laws, which were transmitted to US by our common Ancestors, and subjected to an arbitrary code, compiled under the auspices of Roman tyrants; after those charters, which encouraged our predecessors to brave death and danger in every shape, on unknown seas, in desarts unexplored, amidst barbarous and inhospitable nations, were annuled; when, without the form of trial, without a public accusation, whole colonies were condemned; their trade destroyed, their inhabitants impoverished; when soldiers were encouraged to embroe their hands in the blood of Americans, by offers of impunity; when new modes of
trial

trial were instituted for the ruin of the accused, where the charge carried with it the horrors of conviction; when a despotic government was established in a neighbouring province, and its limits extended to every of our frontiers; we little imagined that any thing could be added to this black catalogue of unprovoked injuries: but we have unhappily been deceived; and the late measures of the British ministry fully convince us, that their object is the reduction of these colonies to slavery and ruin.

To confirm this assertion, let us recall your attention to the affairs of America, since our last address. Let us combat the calumnies of our enemies; and let us warn you of the dangers that threaten you, in our destruction. Many of your fellow subjects, whose situation deprived them of other support, drew their maintenance from the sea; but the deprivation of our Liberty being insufficient to satisfy the resentment of our enemies, the horrors of famine were superadded, and a British Parliament, who, in better times, were the protectors of innocence and the patrons of humanity, have, without distinction of age or sex, robbed thousands of the food, which they were accustomed to draw from that inexhaustible source, placed in their neighbourhood by the benevolent Creator.

Another act of your legislature shuts our ports and prohibits our trade with any but those States, from whom the great law of self-preservation renders it absolutely necessary we should at present withhold our commerce. But this act (whatever may have been its design) we consider rather as injurious to your opulence, than our interest. All our commerce terminates with you; and the wealth, we procure from other nations is soon exchanged for your superfluities. Our remittances must then

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cease with our trade; and our refinements with our affluence. We trust however, that laws, which deprive us of every blessing, but a soil that teems with the necessaries of life, and that liberty which renders the enjoyment of them secure, will not relax our vigour in their defence.

We might here observe on the cruelty and inconsistency of those, who while they publicly brand us with reproachful and unworthy epithets, endeavour to deprive us of the means of defence, by their interposition with foreign powers, and to deliver us to the lawless ravages of a merciless soldiery. But happily we are not without resources; and though the timid and humiliating applications of a British ministry should prevail with foreign nations, yet industry, prompted by necessity, will not leave us without the necessary supplies. We could wish to go no further, and, not to wound the ear of humanity, leave untold those rigorous acts of oppression, which are daily exercised in the town of Boston, did we not hope, that by disclaiming their deeds and punishing the perpetrators, you would shortly vindicate the honour of the British name and re-establish the violated laws of justice.

That once populous, flourishing and commercial town is now garrisoned by an army sent, not to protect, but to enslave its inhabitants.—The civil government is overturned, and a military despotism erected upon its ruins. Without law, without right, powers are assumed unknown to the constitution. Private property is unjustly invaded. The inhabitants daily subjected to the licentiousness of the soldiery, are forbid to remove in defiance of their natural rights, in violation of the most solemn compacts. Or if, after long and wearisome solicitation, a pass is procured, their effects are de-
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tained, and even those who are most favoured, have no alternative but poverty or slavery. The distress of many thousand people, wantonly deprived of the necessaries of life, is a subject; on which we would not wish to enlarge.

Yet we cannot but observe, that a British fleet (unjustified even by acts of your legislature) are daily employed in ruining our commerce, seizing our ships, and depriving whole communities of their daily bread. Nor will a regard for your honor permit us to be silent, while British troops sully your glory, by actions, which the most inveterate enmity will not palliate among civilized nations; the wanton and unnecessary destruction of Charlestown, a large, ancient and once populous town, just before deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the fury of your soldiery.

If you still retain those sentiments of compassion, by which Britons have ever been distinguished; if the humanity, which tempered the valour of our common ancestors, has not degenerated into cruelty, you will lament the miseries of their descendants.

To what are we to attribute this treatment; If to any secret principle of the constitution, let it be mentioned; let us learn, that the government, we have long revered, is not without its defects, and that while it gives freedom to a part, it necessarily enslaves the remainder of the empire.— If such a principle exists; why for ages has it ceased to operate? Why at this time is it called into action? Can no reason be assigned for this conduct? Or must it be resolved into the wanton exercise of arbitrary power? And shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this?—No, Sirs! We never will, while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender

those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our sea-coasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment to men, whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want; **THE LUXURY OF BEING FREE.**

We know the force of your arms, and was it called forth in the cause of justice and your country, we might dread the exertion; but will Britons fight under the banners of tyranny? Will they counteract the labours, and disgrace the victories of their ancestors? Will they forge chains for their posterity? If they descend to this unworthy task, will their swords retain their edge, their arms their accustomed vigour? Britons can never become the instruments of oppression, till they lose the spirit of freedom, by which alone they are invincible.

Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does it consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, shew us a period in your history, in which you have not been equally seditious?

We are accused of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. Abused, insulted, and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the Throne. We have applied to your justice, for relief. We have retrenched our luxury, and with-held our trade.

The advantages of our commerce were designed as a compensation for your protection: When you ceased

ceased to protect, for what were we to compensate?

What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will, or the power, to assist us.

Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers, who are the rivals of your grandeur? When your troops were few and defenceless, did we take advantage of their distress, and expel them our towns? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new aid, and to acquire additional strength?

Let not *your* enemies and *ours* persuade you, that in this we are influenced by fear, or any other unworthy motive. The lives of Britons are still dear to us. They are the children of our parents, and an uninterrupted intercourse of mutual benefits had knit the bonds of friendship. When hostilities were commenced, when on a late occasion we were wantonly attacked by your troops, though we repelled their assaults, and returned their blows; yet we lamented the wounds they obliged us to give; nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen.

As we wish not to colour our actions, or disguise our thoughts; we shall, in the simple language of truth, avow the measures we have pursued, the motives upon which we have acted, and our future designs.

When our late petition to the throne produced no other effect than fresh injuries, and votes of your legis-

legislature, calculated to justify every severity; when your fleets and your armies were prepared to wrest from us our property, to rob us of our liberties or our lives; when the hostile attempts of Gen. Gage evinced his designs; we levied armies for our security and defence. When the powers vested in the governor of Canada, gave us reason to apprehend danger from that quarter; and we had frequent intimations that a cruel and savage enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless inhabitants of our frontiers; we took such measures as prudence dictated, as necessity will justify. We possessed ourselves of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga. Yet give us leave most solemnly to assure you, that we have not yet lost sight of the object we have ever had in view, a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles, and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we till lately maintained.

The inhabitants of this country apply themselves chiefly to agriculture and commerce. As their fashions and manners are similar to yours, your markets must afford them the conveniencies and luxuries; for which they exchange the produce of their labours. The wealth of this extended continent centers with you; and our trade is so regulated as to be subservient only to your interest. You are too reasonable to expect, that by taxes (in addition to this) we should contribute to your expence, to believe after diverting the fountain that the streams can flow with unabated force.

It has been said, that we refuse to submit to the restrictions on our commerce. From whence is this inference drawn? Not from our words, we having repeatedly declared the contrary; and we again profess

profess our submission to the several acts of trade and navigation passed before the year 1763, trusting, nevertheless, in the equity and justice of Parliament, that such of them as, upon cool and impartial consideration, shall appear to have imposed unnecessary or grievous restrictions, will, at some happier period, be repealed or altered. And we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as shall be restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects of America, without their consent.

It is alledged that we contribute nothing to the common defence. To this we answer, that the advantages which Great Britain receives from the monopoly of our trade, far exceed our proportion of the expence necessary for that purpose. But should these advantages be inadequate thereto, let the restrictions on our trade be removed, and we will cheerfully contribute such proportion when constitutionally required.

It is a fundamental principle of the British constitution, that every man should have at least a representative share in the formation of those laws by which he is bound. Were it otherwise, the regulation of our internal police by a British parliament, who are and ever will be unacquainted with our local circumstances, must be always inconvenient, and frequently oppressive, working our wrong, without yielding any possible advantage to you.

A plan of accommodation (as it has been absurdly called) has been proposed by your Ministers,

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to our respective assemblies. Were this proposal free from every other objection but that which arises from the time of the offer, it would not be unexceptionable. Can men deliberate with the bayonet at their breast? Can they treat with freedom, while their towns are sacked, when daily instances of injustice and oppression disturb the slower operations of reason?

If this proposal is really such as you would offer and we accept, why was it delayed till the nation was put to useless expence, and we were reduced to our present melancholy situation? If it holds forth nothing, why was it proposed? Unless indeed to deceive you into a belief, that we were unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation? But what is submitted to our consideration? We contend for the disposal of our property. We are told that our demand is unreasonable, that our assemblies may indeed collect our money, but that they must at the same time offer; not what your exigencies or ours may require; but so much as shall be deemed sufficient to satisfy the desires of a Minister, and enable him to provide for favourites and dependants. A recurrence to your own treasury will convince you how little of the money already extorted from us has been applied to the relief of your burthens: To suppose that we would thus grasp the shadow, and give up the substance, is adding insult to injuries.

We have nevertheless again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our Sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his Majesty to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful Colonies may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such terms as can
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alone render an accommodation lasting; and we flatter ourselves, that our pacific endeavours will be attended with a removal of ministerial troops, and a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain, on the one part, and a disbanding of our army, and a dissolution of our commercial associations, on the other.

Yet conclude not from this, that we propose to surrender our property into the hands of your ministry, or vest your Parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your ministers (equal foes to British and American freedom) have added to their former oppressions an attempt to reduce us by the sword to a base and abject submission. On the sword therefore we are compelled to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favour, yet men trained to arms from their infancy, and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap or easy conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain, since even in death we shall find that freedom, which in life you forbid us to enjoy.

Let us now ask what advantages are to attend our reduction? The trade of a ruined and desolate country is always inconsiderable, its revenue trifling; the expence of subjecting and retaining it in subjection certain and inevitable. What then remains but the gratification of an ill judged pride, or the hope of rendering us subservient to designs on your liberty.

Soldiers who have sheathed their swords in the bowels of their American brethren, will not draw them with more reluctance against you. When too late you may lament the loss of that freedom,

which we exhort you, while still in your power, to preserve.

On the other hand, should you prove unsuccessful; should that connection, which we most ardently wish to maintain, be dissolved; should your Ministers exhaust your treasures and waste the blood of your countrymen in vain attempts on our liberty; do they not deliver you, weak and defenceless, to your natural enemies?

Since then your *liberty* must be the price of your victories, your ruin, of your defeat:—What blind fatality can urge you to a pursuit destructive of all that Britons hold dear?

If you have no regard to the connection that has for ages subsisted between us; if you have forgot the wounds we received fighting by your side, for the extention of the empire; if our commerce is not an object below your consideration; if justice and humanity have lost their influence on your hearts; still motives are not wanting, to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued: your wealth, your honour, your liberty are at stake.

Notwithstanding the distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own afflictions, to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and inconsiderate councils should precipitate the destruction of an empire, which has been the envy and admiration of ages, and call God to witness! that we would part with our property, endanger our lives, and sacrifice every thing but Liberty, to redeem you from ruin.

A cloud hangs over your heads and ours; e'er this reaches you, it may probably burst upon us, let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated) once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears. Let us entreat

entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen, on the other side of the Atlantic.

Ordered; That the above address be immediately printed, and sent by Mr. Penn to England.

The letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery of London, being again read and debated, was agreed to as follows:

My LORD,

PERMIT the Delegates of the people of twelve ancient colonies, to pay your lordship and the very respectable body of which you are head, the just tribute of gratitude and thanks for the virtuous and unsolicited resentment you have shewn to the violated rights of a free people. The city of London, my Lord, having in all ages, approved itself the patron of Liberty, and the support of just government, against lawless tyranny and oppression, cannot fail to make us deeply sensible of the powerful aid our cause must receive from such advocates. A cause, my Lord, worthy the support of the first city in the world, as it involves the fate of a great Continent, and threatens to shake the foundations of a flourishing, and until lately, a happy empire.

North-America, my Lord, wishes most ardently for a lasting connection with Great-Britain, on terms of just and equal Liberty; less than which generous minds will not offer, nor brave and free ones be willing to receive.

A cruel war has at length been opened against

us, and whilst we prepare to defend ourselves like the descendants of Britons, we still hope that the mediation of wise and good citizens, will at length prevail over despotism, and restore harmony and peace, on permanent principles, to an oppressed and divided empire.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord,

With great esteem,

Your Lordship's

Faithful friends and fellow-subjects,

Ordered, That the above be transcribed, and then signed by the President.

The Committee appointed to prepare a letter to Mr. Penn and the colony agents, reported a draught, which was read and approved as follows :

GENTLEMEN.

The perseverance of the British ministry, in their unjust and cruel system of Colony Administration, has occasioned the meeting of another Congress.

We have again appealed to the justice of our Sovereign, for protection against the destruction which his Ministers meditate for his American subjects. This petition to his Majesty, you will please, Gentlemen, to present to the King with all convenient expedition, after which we desire it may be given to the public. We likewise send you our second application to the equity and interest of our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, and also a declaration, setting forth the causes of our taking up Arms : Both which we wish may be immediately
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put to press, and communicated as universally as possible.

The Congress entertain the highest sense of the wise and worthy interposition of the Lord Mayor and Livery of London, in favour of injured America. They have expressed this their sense in a letter to his Lordship and the Livery, which we desire may be presented in the manner most agreeable to that respectable body.

You will oblige us, Gentlemen, by giving the most early information to the Congress, and to the Speakers of our respective Assemblies of your proceedings in this business, and such further intelligence as you may judge to be of importance to America in this great contest.

We are with great regard,
Gentlemen, &c.

Ordered, The the above be fairly transcribed, and then signed by the President, and by him sent under cover, together with the Petition to the King, and Address to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, and the letter to the Lord Mayor, &c. to Richard Penn, Esq; and that the President request Mr. Penn, in behalf of the Congress, to join with the Colony Agents in presenting the petition to the King.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, July 10, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Information being given, that there was a Gentleman

tleman in town well acquainted with the state and disposition of the Indians, a motion was made for introducing him, and he was accordingly introduced and examined.

The Committee appointed to devise ways and means for putting the militia in a proper state for the defence of America brought in their report, which was read, and after debate, referred for further consideration.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, July 11, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The report of the Committee on Indian affairs was taken up and read, and after some debate, the same was deferred till to-morrow.

On information, that there were two companies of rifle-men raised in Lancaster instead of one,

Resolved, That both be taken into the continental service.

"An address of Deputies from the different parishes of the Islands of Bermuda," to the Congress, was presented and read.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, July 12, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

A Gentleman from the province of Quebeck was introduced and examined.

Letters

Letters from Governor Cooke and General Ward were read.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on Indian affairs, and the same being gone through, was agreed to as follows:

That the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian nations, appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to these Colonies.

That there is too much reason to apprehend, that administration will spare no pains to excite the several nations of Indians to take up arms against these Colonies; and that it becomes us to be very active and vigilant in exerting every prudent means to strengthen and confirm the friendly disposition towards these Colonies, which has long prevailed among the northern tribes, and which has been lately manifested by some of those to the southward.

As the Indians depend on the Colonists for arms, ammunition and clothing, which are become necessary to their subsistence, that Commissioners be appointed by this Congress, to superintend Indian affairs in behalf of these Colonies.

That there be three departments of Indians, the northern, middle, and southern. The northern to extend so far south as to include the whole of the Indians known by the name of the Six Nations, and all the Indians northward of those nations. The southern department to extend so far north as to include the Cherokees, and all the Indians that may be to the southward of them. The middle to contain the Indian nations that lie between the other two departments.

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Letters

That five commissioners be appointed for the southern department.

That for each of the other two departments there be appointed three commissioners.

That the commissioners have power to treat with the Indians in their respective departments, in the name and on behalf of the United Colonies; in order to preserve peace and friendship with the said Indians, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions.

That the Commissioners for the southern department receive from the Continental Treasury the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*; the Commissioners for the middle and northern department the sum of *six thousand six hundred and sixty-six and two thirds*; for each of their respective departments, for defraying the expence of treaties and presents to the Indians.

That the Commissioners respectively have power to take to their assistance Gentlemen of influence among the Indians, in whom they can confide, and to appoint agents, residing near or among the Indians, to watch the conduct of the superintendants and their emissaries.

That in case the Commissioners for the respective districts, or any one of them in either district, shall have satisfactory proof, that the King's superintendants, their deputies or agents, or any other person whatsoever, are active in stirring up or inciting the Indians; or any of them, to become inimical to the American colonies, such Commissioner or Commissioners ought to cause such superintendants or other offender to

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to be seized and kept in safe custody, until order shall be taken therein by a majority of the Commissioners of the districts where such seizure is made, or by the Continental Congress, or a Committee of said Congress, to whom such seizure, with the causes of it, shall, as soon as possible after, be made known.

That the Commissioners shall exhibit fair accounts of the expenditure of all monies by them respectively to be received for the purposes aforesaid, to every succeeding Continental Congress, or Committee of Congress, together with a general state of Indian affairs in their several departments, in order that the Colonies may be informed from time to time of every such matter as may concern them to know and avail themselves of, for the benefit of the common cause.

That as there is a Seminary for the instruction of Indian youth, which has been established under the care of Doctor Wheelock, on Connecticut river; and as there are nine or ten Indian youths at that school, chiefly from the tribes residing in Quebec; and as for want of a proper fund there is danger that these youths may be sent back to their friends, which will probably excite jealousy and distrust, and be attended with bad consequences, the Commissioners for Indian affairs in the northern department be authorized to receive out of the Continental Treasury, a sum not exceeding *Five Hundred Dollars*, to be applied by them for the support of the said Indian youths.

On motion made, Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed, to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these Colonies.

The following were chosen, Mr. Jay, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Gadsden, Mr. Deane and Mr. Lee.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare proper talks to the Indians, reported the same, which was agreed to as follows :

A Speech to the Six Confederate Nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senekas, from the Twelve United Colonies, convened in Council at Philadelphia.

Brothers, Sachems and Warriors,

We, the Delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, The three Lower Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Suffex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, now sitting in General Congress at Philadelphia, send this Talk to you our Brothers. We are sixty-five in number, chosen and appointed by the people throughout all these provinces and colonies, to meet and sit together in one great Council, to consult together for the common good of the land, and speak and act for them.

Brothers, in our consultation we have judged it proper and necessary to send you this Talk, as we are upon the same island, that you may be informed of the reasons of this great Council, the situation of our civil constitution, and our disposition towards you our Indian Brothers of the Six Nations and their allies.

(Three Strings, or a small Belt.)

Brothers and Friends, now attend.

When our fathers crossed the great water and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a Talk:

Talk: assuring them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they would leave their native country and make settlements, and live here, and buy, and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain and enjoy peace—And it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's forever, and at their sole disposal.

Trusting that this covenant should never be broken, our fathers came a great distance beyond the great water, laid out their money here, built houses, cleared fields, raised crops, and through their own labour and industry grew tall and strong.

They have bought, sold and traded with England according to agreement, sending to them such things as they wanted, and taking in exchange such things as are wanted here.

The King of England and his people kept the way open for more than one hundred years, and by our trade became richer, and by a union with us, greater and stronger than the other Kings and people who live beyond the water.

All this time they lived in great friendship with us, and we with them; for we are brothers—one blood.

Whenever they were struck, we instantly felt as though the blow had been given to us—their enemies were our enemies.

Whenever they went to war, we sent our men to stand by their side and fight for them, and our money to help them and make them strong.

They thanked us for our love and sent us good Talks, and renewed their promise to be one people for ever.

Brothers and Friends, open a kind Ear!

We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the Counsellors of King George and the Inhabitants and Colonies of America.

Many of his Counsellors are proud and wicked men— They persuade the King to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good Talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into and took strong hold of.

They now tell us they will slip their hand into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters or written civil constitution which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses and goods whenever they please, without asking our leave. That our vessels may go to *this* island in the sea, but to *this* or *that* particular island we shall not trade any more.—And in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

Brothers, this is our present situation—thus have many of the King's Counsellors and Servants dealt with us. If we submit, or comply with their demands, you can easily perceive to what state we will be reduced. If our people labour on the field, they will not know who shall enjoy the crop; if they hunt in the woods, it will be uncertain who shall taste of the meat, or have the skins; if they build houses, they will not know whether they may sit round the fire with their wives and children: they cannot be sure whether they shall be permitted to eat, drink, and wear the fruits of their own labour and industry.

Brothers and Friends of the Six Nations, attend.

We upon this island have often spoke and intreated the

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the King and his Servants the Counsellors, that peace and harmony might still continue between us; that we cannot part with, or loose our hold of the old covenant chain which united our fathers and theirs; that we want to brighten this chain, and keep the way open as our fathers did; that we want to live with them as brothers, labour, trade, travel abroad, eat and drink in peace. We have often asked them to love us and live in such friendship with us as their fathers did with ours.

We told them again that we judged we were exceedingly injured, that they might as well kill us, as take away our property and the necessaries of life. We have asked why they treat us thus? What has become of our repeated addresses and supplications to them? Who hath shut the ears of the King to the cries of his children in America? No soft answer—no pleasant voice from beyond the water has yet founded in our ears.

Brothers, thus stands the matter betwixt Old England and America. You Indians know how things are proportioned in a family, between the father and the son, the child carries a little pack—England we regard as the father; this island may be compared to the son.

The father has a numerous family, both at home and upon this island; he appoints a great number of Servants to assist him in the government of his family: in process of time, some of his servants grow proud and ill-natured—they were displeased to see the boy so alert, and walk on so nimbly with his pack; they tell the father, and advise him to enlarge the child's pack—they prevail; the pack is increased—the child takes it up again; as he thought it might be the father's pleasure, speaks but few words, those very small, for he was loth to offend the father. Those proud and wicked servants finding they had prevailed, laughed to see the boy sweat and stagger under his increased load. By and by, they apply to the father

father to double the boy's pack, because they heard him complain; and without any reason said they, he is a cross child, correct him if he complains any more. The boys intreats the father, addresses the great servants in a decent manner, that the pack might be lightened; he could not go any further; humbly asks, if the old fathers, in any of their records, had described such a pack for the child: after all the tears and intreaties of the child, the pack is redoubled; the child stands a little, while staggering under the weight, ready to fall every moment: however, he entreats the father once more, though so faint he could only lisp out his last humble supplication—waits a while—no voice returns. The child concludes the father could not hear—those proud servants had intercepted his supplications, or stopped the ears of the father. He therefore gives one struggle and throws off the pack, and says he cannot take it up again, such a weight will crush him down and kill him, and he can but die if he refuses.

Upon this, those servants are very wrath, and tell the father many false stories respecting the child; they bring a great cudgel to the father, asking him to take it in his hand and strike the child.

This may serve to illustrate the present condition of the King's American subjects or children.

Amidst these oppressions, we now and then heard a molising and reviving voice from some of the King's wise councillors, who are our friends and feel our distresses; when they heard our complaints and our cries, they applied to the King, also told those wicked servants, that this child in America was not a cross boy, it had sufficient reason for crying, and if the cause of its complaint was neglected, it would soon assume the voice of a man, plead for justice like a man, and defend its rights, and support the old covenant-chain of the fathers.

Brothers

Brothers listen!

Notwithstanding all our intreaties, we have but little hope the King will send us any more good talks, by reason of his evil counsellors; they have persuaded him to send an army of soldiers and many ships of war, to rob and destroy us. They have shut up many of our harbours, seized and taken into possession many of our vessels: The soldiers have struck the blow, killed some of our people: the blood now runs of the American children: They have also burned our houses and towns, and taken much of our goods.

Brothers! we are now necessitated to *rise*, and *forced* to fight, or give up our civil constitution, run-away, and leave our farms and houses behind us. This must not be. Since the King's wicked counsellors will not open their ears, and consider our just complaints, and the cause of our weeping, and hath given the blow, we are determined to drive away the King's soldiers, and to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the Twelve United Colonies, upon this island. We think our cause is just; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honour or conquest; but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges, the very same for which our forefathers left their native land and came to this country.

Brothers, and Friends!

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We desire you to remain at home and not join either side; but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people

Brothers

people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass, without molestation.

Brothers! we live on the same ground with you. The same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: Let us water its roots and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.

Brothers, observe well!

What it is we have asked you!—Nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation—and if application should be made to you by any of the King's unwise and wicked ministers, to join on their side, we only advise you to deliberate with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the King's troops take away our property, and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?

Therefore we say, Brothers, take care—hold fast to your covenant chain. You now know our disposition towards you, the Six Nations of Indians and your allies. Let this our good talk remain at *Onondaga*, your central council-house. We depend upon you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the seven tribes on the river St. Lawrence, that you have this Talk of ours at the great Council-Fire of the Six Nations. And when you return, we invite your great men to come and converse farther with us at Albany, where we intend to re-kindle the Council-Fire, which your and our ancestors sat round in great friendship. *Brothers, and Friends!*

We greet you all,

Farewell.

(The

(*The large Belt of Intelligence and Declaration.*)
Brothers!

We have said we wish you Indians may continue in peace with one another, and with us the White people. Let us both be cautious in our behaviour towards each other at this critical state of affairs. This island now trembles, the wind whistles from almost every quarter; let us fortify our minds and shut our ears against false rumours; let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it wise and expedient to kindle up a small Council-Fire at Albany, where we may hear each others voice, and disclose our minds more fully to one another. (*A small Belt.*)

Ordered, That a similar talk be prepared for the other Indian Nations, preserving the tenor of the above, and altering it so as to suit the Indians in the several departments.

The Congress then proceeded to the choice of Commissioners for Indian affairs, and after some debate, agreed that the nomination of Commissioners for the southern department be postponed till Tuesday next.

Mr. Franklin, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Wilson, were unanimously elected for the middle department.

The Congress then proceeded to elect the Commissioners for the northern department, and the following Gentlemen were chosen, viz. Major-General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Mr. Turbot Francis, Mr. Oliver Woolcot, and Mr. Volkert P. Douw.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on the militia; and after debate, the same was referred for farther consideration.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

On motion made, The Congress came to the following resolution:

Whereas the government of Great-Britain hath prohibited the exportation of arms and amunition to any of the Plantations, and endeavoured to prevent other nations from supplying us,

Resolved, That for the better furnishing these Colonies with the necessary means of defending their rights, every vessel importing gun-powder, salt-petre, sulphur, provided they bring with the sulphur four times as much salt-petre, brass field-pieces, or good muskets, fitted with bayonets, within nine months from the date of this resolution, shall be permitted to load and export the produce of these colonies, to value of such powder and stores aforesaid, the Non-Exportation Agreement notwithstanding; and it is recommended to the Committees of the several Provinces, to inspect the military stores so imported, and to estimate a generous price for the same, according to their goodness, and permit the importer of such powder and other military stores aforesaid, to export the value thereof and no more, in produce of any kind.

Sundry intercepted letters, were laid before Congress and read.

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The talk to the Stockbridge Indians was then taken up, and the same being debated, was agreed to.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Congress will, on Thursday next, attend Divine Service in a body, both morning and afternoon.

Ordered, That Mr. Lynch and Mr. Dickinson, wait on Mr. Duché and Doctor Allison, and request Mr. Duché to preach before the Congress on Thursday next, in the morning, and Doctor Allison in the afternoon.

Adjourned till Monday at eight o'clock.

MONDAY, JULY 17, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

A letter from General Schuyler being laid before the Congress, was read, and the same being taken into consideration,

Resolved, That a Commissary of stores and provisions be appointed for the New-York department during the present campaign.

Walter Livingston, Esq. chosen to that office.

Resolved, That a Deputy Quarter-Master General be appointed for the said department.

Donald Campbell, Esq. elected to that office.

Ordered, That Mr. *D. Campbell* have the rank of Colonel in the army.

Resolved, That a Deputy Muster-Master be appointed for the said department.

Gunning Bedford, Esq. elected to that office.

Resolved, That the Convention of New-York be desired to recommend to General Schuyler a proper person for a Deputy Adjutant General or Brigade Major for the army in the New-York department.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

TUESDAY, JULY 18, 1775.

Met according to to adjournment.

The Congress again resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee for putting the militia into a proper state for the defence of America, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of all the United English Colonies in North-America, that all able-bodied effective men, between sixteen and fifty years of age in each Colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of militia, to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Serjeants, four Corporals, one Clerk, one Drummer, one Fifer, and about sixty-eight Privates.

That the officers of each company be chosen by the respective companies.

That each soldier be furnished with a good musket, that will carry an ounce ball, with a bayonet, steel ramrod, worm, priming wire and brush fitted thereto, a cutting sword or tomahawk, a catridge box, that will contain twenty-three rounds of catridges, twelve flints and a knapsack.

That the companies be formed into regiments or battalions, officered with a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, two Majors, an Adjutant or Quarter-Master.

That all officers above the rank of a Captain be appointed by the respective Provincial Assemblies or Conventions, or in their recess by the Committees of Safety appointed by said Assemblies or Conventions.

That all officers be commissioned by the Provincial Assemblies or Conventions, or in their recess, by the Committees of Safety appointed by said Assemblies or Conventions.

That

That all the militia take proper care to acquire military skill, and be well prepared for defence, by being each man provided with one pound of good gunpowder, and four pounds of ball fitted to his gun.

That one fourth part of the militia in every Colony be selected for minute men, of such persons as are willing to enter into this necessary service, formed into companies and battalions, and their officers chosen and commissioned as aforesaid, to be ready on the shortest notice to march to any place where their assistance may be required, for the defence of their own or a neighbouring Colony; and as these minute men may eventually be called to action before the whole body of the militia are sufficiently trained, it is recommended that a more particular and diligent attention be paid to their instruction in military discipline.

That such of the minute men, as desire it, be relieved by new draughts as aforesaid from the whole body of the militia once in four months.

As there are some people, who from religious principles cannot bear arms in any case, this congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them to contribute liberally, in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed country, which they can consistently with their religious principles.

That it be recommended to the Assemblies or Conventions in the respective colonies to provide, as soon as possible, sufficient stores of ammunition for their colonies; also that they devise proper means for furnishing with arms such effective means as are poor and unable to furnish themselves.

That it be recommended to each colony to appoint a Committee of Safety, to superintend and direct all matters

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ters necessary for the security and defence of their respective colonies, in the recess of their Assemblies and Conventions.

That each colony, at their own expence, make such provision by armed vessels or otherwise, as their respective Assemblies, Conventions, or Committees of Safety shall judge expedient and suitable to their circumstances and situations, for the protection of their harbours and navigation on their sea coasts, against all unlawful invasions, attacks and depredations, from cutters and ships of war.

That it be recommended to the makers of arms for the use of the militia, that they make good substantial muskets, with barrels three feet and a half in length, that will carry an ounce ball, and fitted with a good bayonet and steel ram-rod; and that the making such arms be encouraged in these United Colonies.

Where in any colony a militia is already formed under regulations approved of by the Convention of such colony, or by such Assemblies as are annually elective, we refer to the discretion of such Convention or Assembly, either to adopt the foregoing regulations in the whole or in part, or to continue their former, as they, on consideration of all circumstances, shall think best.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

W E D N E S D A Y, J U L Y 19, 1775.

The President laid before the Congress a letter from the General, with sundry papers enclosed, which were read and considered, whereupon

Ordered, That Mr. Wilson apply to the Committee of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and request them to make diligent enquiry what quantities of duck, Russia

sia sheeting, tow cloth, Oznaburgs and Ticklenburgs can be procured in this city, and make return as soon as possible to this Congress.

Resolved, That Joseph Trumbull be Commissary General of stores and provisions for the army of the United Colonies.

Resolved, That the appointment of a Quarter Master General, a Commissary of Musters, and a Commissary of Artillery, be left to General Washington.

That General Thomas be appointed first Brigadier General, in the army of the United Colonies, in the room of General Pomeroy, who never acted under the commission sent to him, and that General Thomas's commission bear the same date that General Pomeroy's did.

That it be left to General Washington, if he thinks fit, to appoint three Brigade Majors, and commission them accordingly.

That a Committee of three be appointed, to report the method of establishing an hospital.

The Committee chosen are, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Paine and Mr. Middleton.

That it be recommended to the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Connecticut, to compleat the deficiencies in the regiments belong to their respective Colonies, retained by the General in the continental army before Boston.

That it be recommended to the colony of Rhode-Island, to compleat and send forward to the camp before Boston, as soon as possible, the three hundred and sixty men, lately voted by their General Assembly.

That it be recommended to the colony of Connecticut, to compleat and send forward to the camp before Boston, as soon as possible, the fourteen hundred men lately voted by their General Assembly.

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On motion made, Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to bring in an estimate of the expences incurred by the votes and resolves of this Congress.

Mr. Deane, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Cushing chosen.

Agreed, That the Congress meet at this place to-morrow, and from this place to go in a body to attend Divine Service.

Resolved, That the nomination of three of the Commissioners for Indian affairs, in the southern department, be left to the Council of Safety, appointed by the colony of South-Carolina.

That Mr. John Walker, of Virginia, be appointed one of the Commissioners for Indian affairs in the southern department.

Adjourned till to-morrow at half past nine o'clock.

THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1775, Half after nine. A. M.

An express arriving with dispatches from General Schuyler, the same were read.

A letter was also received from the Convention of Georgia, and read, setting forth, that the colony had acceded to the General Association, and appointed Delegates to attend this Congress.

Adjourned till one o'clock, P. M.

P. M. Met according to the adjournment.

The dispatches from General Schuyler being taken into consideration.

Resolved, That General Schuyler be empowered to dispose of, and employ all the troops in the New York department, in such manner as he may think best for the protection and defence of these colonies, the tribes of Indians in friendship and amity with us, and most effectually to promote the general interest, still pursuing, if in his power, the former orders from this Congress, and subject to the future orders of the Commander in Chief.

Adjourned till to-morrow at eight o'clock.

FRIDAY, July 21, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of Jamaica, having brought in a draught, the same was read.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

The Committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of Ireland, brought in a draught.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

Resolved, That Mr. R. Bache, Mr. Stephen Paschall, and Mr. M. Hillegas, be appointed to superintend the press, and to have the oversight and care of printing the bills of credit ordered to be struck by this Congress.

Resolved, That Mr. Willie Jones, of North Carolina, be the fifth Commissioner of Indian affairs in the Southern department.

Agreeable to order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America; and after some time spent therein, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported that they had come to certain resolutions, which he read, and then desired leave to sit again.

The committee appointed to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these Colonies, brought in their report, which was read.

Ordered, That the same be taken into consideration to-morrow morning.

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The Congress then entered upon the consideration of the report from the Committee of the whole, and after some debate,

Resolved, That such a body of troops be kept up in the Massachusetts Bay as Gen. Washington shall think necessary, provided they do not exceed twenty-two thousand men.

Adjourned till to-morrow eight o'clock.

SATURDAY, July 22, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to the order of yesterday, the Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee appointed to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these Colonies, and after some debate, the further consideration of it was postponed to a future day.

On motion, Resolved, That Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Lee, be a Committee to take into consideration, and report on the resolution of the House of Commons, Feb. 20, 1775, commonly called Lord North's motion.

Adjourned 'till Monday at 8 o'Clock.

Monday being spent in a Committee of the whole.

TUESDAY, July 25, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The

The Committee for that purpose appointed, brought in this report for establishing an hospital, which was read.

The Committee appointed to consider the ways and means of establishing a post, brought in their report, which was read, and ordered to be considered to-morrow.

The Committee appointed to consider and report their opinion of the resolution of the House of Commons, brought in their report, which was read, ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the address the Assembly of Jamaica, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows :

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly of Jamaica.

WE would think ourselves deficient in our duty if we suffered this Congress to pass over without expressing our esteem for the Assembly of Jamaica.

Whoever attends to the conduct of those who have been entrusted with the administration of British affairs, during these last twelve years, will discover in it a deliberate plan to destroy, in every part of the empire, the free Constitution, for which Britain has been so long and so justly famed. With a dexterity, artful and wicked, they have varied the modes of attack according to the different characters and circumstances of those

whom they meant to reduce. In the East-Indies, where the effeminacy of the inhabitants promised an easy conquest, they thought it unnecessary to veil their tyrannic principles under the thinnest disguise. Without deigning even to pretend a justification of their conduct, they sacrificed the lives of millions to the gratification of their insatiable avarice and lust of power. In Britain, where the maxims of freedom were still known, but where luxury and dissipation had diminished the wonted reverence for them, the attack has been carried on in a more secret and indirect manner: Corruption has been employed to undermine them. The Americans are not enervated by effeminacy, like the inhabitants of India; nor debauched by luxury, like those of Great Britain: It was therefore judged proper to assail them by bribery, or by undisguised force. Plausible systems were formed; specious pretences were made: All the arts of sophistry were tried to shew, that the British ministry had, by law, a right to enslave us. The first and best maxims of the constitution, venerable to Britons and to Americans, were perverted and prophaned. The power of parliament derived from the people to bind the people, was extended over those from whom it was never derived. It is asserted, that a standing army may be constitutionally kept among us, without our consent. These principles, dishonourable to

to those who adopted them, and destructive to those, to whom they were applied, were nevertheless carried into execution by the foes of liberty and of mankind; acts of parliament, ruinous to America, and unserviceable to Britain, were made to bind us. Armies, maintained by the parliament, were sent over to secure their operation. The power, however, and the cunning of our adversaries, were alike unsuccessful. We refused to their parliament an obedience, which our judgments disapproved of: We refused to their armies a submission, which spirits unaccustomed to slavery, could not brook.

But while we spurned a disgraceful subjection, we were far from running into rash, or seditious measures of opposition. Filled with sentiments of loyalty to our sovereign, and of affection and respect for our fellow subjects in Britain; we petitioned, we supplicated, we expostulated:—Our prayers were rejected:—Our remonstrances were disregarded:—Our grievances were accumulated. All this did not provoke us to violence.

An appeal to the justice and humanity of those who had injured us, and were bound to redress our injuries, were ineffectual; we next resolved to make an appeal to their interest; though by doing so we knew we must sacrifice our own, and (which gave us equal uneasiness) that of our friends who had never offended us, and who were connected with us by a sympathy of feelings under oppressions

preffions fimilar to our own. We refolved to give up our commerce, that we might preferve our liberty. We flattered ourfelves that, when, by withdrawing our commercial intercourse with Britain, which we had an undoubted right either to withdraw or to continue, her trade fhould be diminished, her revenues impaired, and her manufactures unemployed, our minifterial foes would be induced by intereft, or compelled by neceffity, to depart from the plan of tyranny which they had fo long purfued, and to fubftitute, in its place, a fyftem more compatible with the freedom of America, and the juftice of Britain. That this fcheme of non-importation and non-exportation might be productive of the defired effects, we were obliged to include the iflands in it. From this neceffity, and from this neceffity alone, has our conduct towards them proceeded. By converting your fugar plantations into fields of grain, you can fupply yourfelves with the neceffaries of life: While the prefent unhappy ftuggle fhall continue, we cannot do more.

But why fhould we make an apology to the patriotic Affembly of Jamaica, who know fo well the value of liberty; who are fo fenfible of the extreme danger to which ours is expofed; and who forefee how certainly the deftruction of ours muft be followed by the deftruction of their own?

We

We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation: We feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown. It was indeed unavailing—but are you to blame?—Mournful experience tells us, that petitions are often rejected, while the sentiments and conduct of the petitioners entitle what they offer to a happier fate.

That our petitions have been treated with disdain is now become the smallest part of our complaint: Ministerial insolence is lost in ministerial barbarity. It has, by an exertion peculiarly ingenious, procured those very measures, which it laid us under the hard necessity of pursuing, to be stigmatized in parliament as rebellious: It has employed additional fleets and armies for the infamous purpose of compelling us to abandon them: It has plunged us in all the horrors and calamities of civil war: It has caused the treasure and the blood of Britons (formerly shed and expended for far other ends) to be spilt and wasted in the execrable design of spreading slavery over British America: It will not, however, accomplish its aim: In the worst of contingences, a choice will still be left, which it never can prevent us from making.

The peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance. But we have your good wishes. From the good wishes of the friends

of

We

of liberty and mankind we shall always derive consolation.

Ordered, That a fair copy be made out, to be signed by the president, and transmitted by the first opportunity.

The congress then resuming the report of the Committee of the whole, came to the following resolutions.

Resolved that a body of forces, not exceeding five thousand, be kept up in the New York department, for the purpose of defending that part of America, and for securing the lakes, and protecting the frontiers from incursions and invasions.

That a further sum, amounting to the value of one million of Spanish milled dollars be struck in bills of thirty dollars each.

As the signing so great a number of bills as has been directed to be issued by this Congress, will require more time than the members can possibly devote to that business, consistent with the attention due to the public service.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be appointed and fully authorized to sign the same, viz. Luke Morris, Samuel Meredith, Judah Foulke, Samuel Morris, Frederick Kuhl, Robert Strettle Jones, Thomas Coombe, Ellis Lewis, John Mease, Thomas Lawrence, Daniel Clymer, John Maxwell Nesbit, Thomas Barclay, John Bayard, William Craig, Thomas Barto, John Shee, Isaac Hazlehurst, Robert Roberts, Anthony Morris, Mordecai Lewis,

Lewis, George Mifflin, Robert Tuckniss, Andrew Bunner, William Jackson, Joseph Sims, James Milligan, and James Reed.

That each of the continental bills be numbered and signed by two of the above gentlemen.

That each gentleman, who signs the continental bills, be allowed and paid out of the continental treasury, one dollar and one third of a dollar, for each and every thousand bills, signed and numbered by him:

That the gentlemen appointed to number and sign the bills do give their receipts for the same, expressing the number and denomination of them; and after numbering and signing them, shall deliver the same to the continental treasury, taking their receipts for the bills so delivered.

On motion, resolved, That Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Lee, and Mr. J. Rutledge, with the secretary, be a Committee to revise the journal of this Congress, and prepare it for the press.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock:

WEDNESDAY, July 26, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to order, the Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee for establishing a post; and the same being debated, was agreed to as follows.

A 2

That

That a post-master-general be appointed for the united Colonies, who shall hold his office at Philadelphia, and shall be allowed a salary of 1000 dollars per annum, for himself, and 340 dollars per annum, for a secretary and comptroller, with power to appoint such, and so many deputies as to him may seem proper and necessary.

That a line of posts be appointed under the direction of the post-master general, from Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia, with as many cross posts as he shall think fit.

That the allowance to the deputies, in lieu of salary and all contingent expences, shall be 20 per cent. on the sums they collect and pay into the general post-office annually, when the whole is under or not exceeding 1000 dollars, and ten per cent. for all sums above 1000 dollars a year.

That the several deputies account quarterly with the general post-office, and the post-master general annually with the Continental treasurers, when he shall pay into the receipt of the said treasurers the profits of the post-office; and if the necessary expence of this establishment should exceed the produce of it, the deficiency shall be made good by the united Colonies, and paid to the post-master general by the Continental treasurers.

On motion made, resolved, That it be recommended to the post-master general to establish a weekly post to South-Carolina.

That

That it be left to the post-master general to appoint a secretary and comptroller.

The Congress then proceeded to the election of a post-master general for one year, and until another is appointed by a future Congress, when Benjamin Franklin, Esq; was unanimously chosen.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock.

THURSDAY, July 27, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee on establishing an hospital for the army, and the same being debated, was agreed to as follows.

That for the establishment of an hospital for an army consisting of twenty thousand men, the following officers and other attendants be appointed with the following allowance or pay, viz.

One director general and chief physician, his pay per day four dollars.

Four surgeons, each ditto one and one third of a dollar.

One apothecary, ditto, one and one third of a dollar.

Twenty surgeons mates, each ditto, two thirds of a dollar.

One clerk ditto, two thirds of a dollar.

Two store-keepers, each four dollars per month.

One nurse to every ten sick, one fifteenth of a dollar per day, or two dollars per month. Labourers occasionally.

The duty of the above officers.

The director to furnish medicines, bedding, and all other necessaries, to pay for the same, superintend the whole, and make his report to, and receive orders from, the commander in chief.

Surgeons, apothecary, and mates, to visit and attend the sick, and the mates to obey the orders of the physicians, surgeons and apothecary.

Matron. To superintend the nurses, bedding, &c.

Nurses. To attend the sick and obey the matron's orders.

Clerk. To keep accounts for the director and store-keepers.

Store-keeper. To receive and deliver the bedding and other necessaries by order of the director.

The Congress then proceeded to the election of officers for the hospital, when

Benjamin Church was unanimously elected, to be director of, and physician in, the hospital.

Resolved, That the appointment of the four surgeons and the apothecary be left to Doctor B. Church.

That the mates be appointed by the surgeons.

That

That the number of mates do not exceed twenty.

That the number be not kept in constant pay, unless the sick and wounded should be so numerous as to require the attendance of twenty, and to be diminished as circumstances will admit, for which purpose the pay is fixed by the day, that they may only receive pay for actual service.

That one clerk, two store-keepers, and one nurse to every ten sick be appointed by the director.

Upon motion made, resolved, That the paymaster give bond with two sureties, in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, for the faithful performance of his office.

That the bond be made payable to the same persons, to whom the bonds of the Continental treasurers are payable.

James Warren, Esq; was then unanimously elected paymaster general.

Resolved, That the paymaster in the New York department give bond to the same persons as above directed, with two sureties, in the sum of 25,000 dollars, for the faithful performance of his office.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock.

FRIDAY, July 28, 1775.

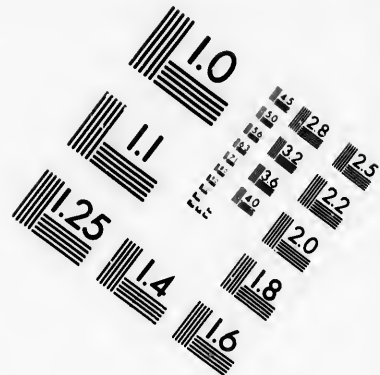
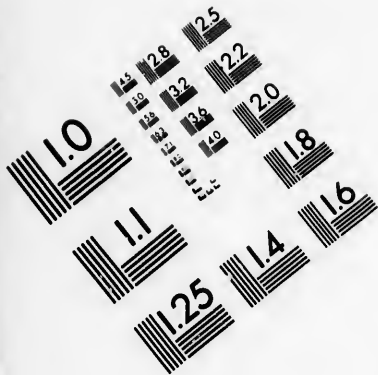
Met according to adjournment.

Ordered, That Mr. M'Kean, and Mr. Wilson, prepare the form of bonds for the continental treasurers to execute.

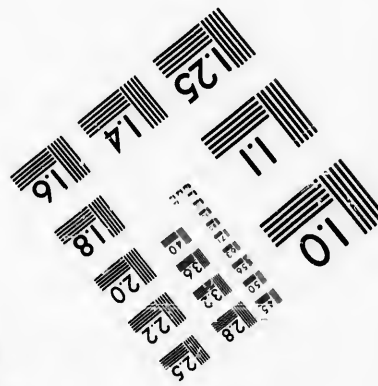
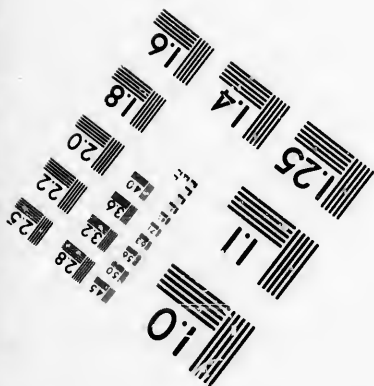
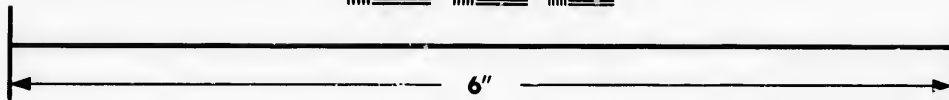
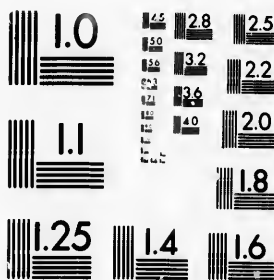
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The Congress then proceeded to the election of a Paymaster for the Forces in the New-York department, when Jonathan Trumbull, jun. Esq; was unanimously elected to that office.

The Address to the People of Ireland being again read by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows :

To the People of Ireland. From the delegates appointed by the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South Carolina, in General Congress at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.

Friends and Fellow Subjects,

AS the important contest, into which we have been driven, is now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects the members of the British empire, we think it our duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous, as is natural to injured innocence, of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane—We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with a true state of our motives and objects; the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision.

However

However incredible it may appear, that, at this enlightened period, the leaders of a nation, which in every age has sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of liberty, should presume gravely to assert and, by force of arms, attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow subjects in America; it is nevertheless a most deplorable and indisputable truth.

These Colonies have, from the time of their first settlement, for near two centuries, peaceably enjoyed those very rights, of which the Ministry have, for ten years past, endeavoured, by fraud and by violence, to deprive them. At the conclusion of the last war the genius of England and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of their sons, withdrew from the British counsels and left that nation a prey to a race of ministers, with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell. From that period, jealousy, discontent, oppression and discord have raged among all his Majesty's subjects; and filled every part of his dominions with distress and complaint.

Not content with our purchasing of Britain at her own price, cloathing and a thousand other articles used by near three millions of people on this vast continent; not satisfied with the amazing profits arising from the monopoly of our trade, without giving us either time to breathe after a long though glorious

glorious

However

glorious war, or the least credit for the blood and treasure we have expended in it;—Notwithstanding the zeal we had manifested for the service of our sovereign, and the warmest attachment to the constitution of Britain and the people of England, a black and horrid design was formed to convert us from freemen into slaves, from subjects into vassals, and from friends into enemies.

Taxes for the first time since we landed on the American shores, were, without our consent, imposed upon us; an unconstitutional edict to compel us to furnish necessaries for a standing army, that we wished to see disbanded, was issued; and the legislature of New-York suspended for refusing to comply with it. Our antient and inestimable right of trial by jury was, in many instances, abolished; and the common law of the land made to give place to Admiralty jurisdictions, judges were rendered, by the tenure of their commissions, entirely dependent on the will of a minister. New crimes were arbitrarily created; and new courts, unknown to the constitution, instituted. Wicked and insidious Governors have been set over us; and dutiful petitions for the removal of even the notoriously infamous Governor Hutchinson, were branded with the opprobrious appellation of scandalous and defamatory. Hardy attempts have been made under colour of parliamentary authority to seize Americans, and carry them to Great Britain

to

to be tried for offences committed in the colonies. Ancient charters have no longer remained sacred, that of Massachusetts-Bay was violated; and their form of government essentially mutilated and transformed. On pretence of punishing a violation of some private property, committed by a few disguised individuals, the populous and flourishing town of Boston was surrounded by fleets and armies; its trade destroyed; its port blocked up; and thirty thousand citizens subjected to all the miseries attending so sudden a convulsion in their commercial metropolis; and to remove every obstacle to the rigorous execution of this system of oppression, an act of parliament was passed evidently calculated to indemnify those, who might, in the prosecution of it, even embue their hands in the blood of the inhabitants.

Though pressed by such an accumulation of undeserved injuries America still remembered her duty to her sovereign. A Congress, consisting of deputies from twelve United Colonies assembled. They in the most respectful terms laid their grievances at the foot of the throne; and implored his Majesty's interposition in their behalf. They also agreed to suspend all trade with Great Britain, Ireland and the West-Indies, hoping, by this peaceable mode of opposition, to obtain that justice from the British ministry which had been so long solicited in vain.

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And

And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves to cease our commercial connections with your island.—Your parliament had done us no wrong—You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that your nation has produced Patriots, who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we were not ignorant that the labor and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself; but served only to give luxury to those, who neither toil nor spin.—We perceived, that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Britain would be fruitless; and were therefore compelled to adopt a measure, to which nothing but absolute necessity would have reconciled us—It gave us however, some consolation to reflect, that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and in time from oppression also—an asylum, in which many thousands of your countrymen, have found hospitality, peace and affluence; and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest and affection—Nor did the Congress stop here—Flattered by a pleasing expectation, that the justice and humanity which had so long characterized the English Nation, would on proper

proper application, afford us relief; they represented their grievances in an affectionate address to their brethren in Britain, and intreated their aid and interposition in behalf of these Colonies.

The more fully to evince their respect for their Sovereign, the unhappy people of Boston were requested by the Congress to submit with patience to their fate; and all America united in a resolution to abstain from every species of violence—During this period, that devoted town suffered unspeakably. Its inhabitants were insulted and their property violated—Still relying on the clemency and justice of his Majesty and the nation, they permitted a few regiments to take possession of their town; to surround it with fortifications, and to cut off all intercourse between them and their friends in the country.

With anxious expectation did all America wait the event of their petition—All America laments its fate—Their Prince was deaf to their complaints: And vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects; of the cruelty of their Task-Masters, and of the many plagues which impended over his dominions. Instead of directions for a candid enquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression, and our long forbearance rewarded with the imputation of cowardice. Our trade with foreign states was prohibited; and

and an act of Parliament passed to prevent our even fishing on our own coasts---Our peaceable Assemblies for the purpose of consulting the common safety, were declared seditious; and our asserting the very rights which placed the Crown of Great-Britain on the heads of the three successive princes of the house of Hanover, stiled rebellion---Orders were given to reinforce the troops in America--The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited by gifts to take up the hatchet against us; and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of innocent and defenceless women and children--The whole country was moreover alarmed with the expected horrors of domestic insurrections--Refinements in parental cruelty, at which the genius of Britain must blush! Refinements which admit not of being even recited without horror, or practised without infamy! We should be happy were these dark machinations the mere suggestions of suspicion--We are sorry to declare, that we are possessed of the most authentic and indubitable evidence of their reality.

The ministry, bent on pulling down the pillars of the constitution, endeavoured to erect the standard of despotism in America; and if successful, Britain and Ireland may shudder at the consequences!

Three of the most experienced Generals are sent to wage war with their fellow subjects;

jects; and America is amazed to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies—She loved his brother.

Despairing of driving the Colonies to resistance by any other means than actual hostility, a detachment of the army at Boston marched into the country in all the array of war; and unprovoked, fired upon, and killed several of the inhabitants—The neighbouring farmers suddenly assembled, and repelled the attack—From this, all communication between the town and country was intercepted—The citizens petitioned the General for permission to leave the town, and he promised on surrendering their arms, to permit them to depart with their other effects—They accordingly surrendered their arms, and the General violated his faith—Under various pretences, passports were delayed and denied; and many thousands of the inhabitants are at this day confined in the town in the utmost wretchedness and want—The lame, the blind, and the sick, have indeed been turned out into the neighbouring fields; and some, eluding the vigilance of the sentinels, have escaped from the town by swimming to the adjacent shores.

The war having thus begun on the part of General Gage's troops, the country armed and embodied. The re-inforcements from Ireland soon after arrived; a vigorous attack was then made upon the Provincials—In their march the troops surrounded the town

town of Charlestown, consisting of about 400 houses, then recently abandoned to escape the fury of a relentless soldiery. Having plundered the houses, they set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes—To this wanton waste of property, unknown to civilized nations, they were prompted, the better to conceal their approach under cover of the smoak. A shocking mixture of cowardice and cruelty, which then first tarnished the lustre of the British arms, when aimed at a brother's breast!—But blessed be God, they were restrained from committing farther ravages, by the loss of a very considerable part of their army, including many of their most experienced officers—The loss of the inhabitants was inconsiderable.

Compelled therefore to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children, involved in promiscuous and unmerited misery—When we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state—When we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity—Who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of desolation? Who can censure our repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation?

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Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men—Though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation—Though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws—And though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause.—What more can we say?—What more can we offer?

But we forbear to trouble you with a tedious detail of the various and fruitless offers and applications we have repeatedly made, not for pensions, for wealth, or for honors, but for the humble boon of being permitted to possess the fruits of honest industry, and to enjoy that degree of liberty, to which God and the constitution have given us an undoubted right.

Blessed with an indissoluble union, with a variety of internal resources, and with a firm reliance on the justice of the supreme disposer of all human events, we have no doubt of rising superior to all the machinations of evil and abandoned ministers. We already anticipate the golden period, when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world, and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought and bled and suffered in her cause.

Accept our most graceful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shewn towards us.—We know that you are

not

Though

not without your grievances—We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland, some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine—Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you—In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry parricides have fed, and grown strong to labour in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating Liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated. But we should be wanting to ourselves; we should be perfidious to posterity; we should be unworthy that ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredations, to gratify the lordly ambition, or satiate the avarice of a British Ministry. In defence of our persons and properties, under actual violation, we have taken up arms—When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also—For the achievement of this happy event, we confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly disposition we do not yet despond; aware as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy, than the humble favour of being last devoured.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock.

SATUR-

SATURDAY, July 29, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the report from the Committee of the whole, and came to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the pay of the Commissary General of Musters be 40 dollars per month.

Deputy Commissary General of Stores and Provisions 60 dollars per ditto.

Deputy Adjutant-General 50 dollars per ditto.

Deputy Muster-Master-General 40 dollars per ditto.

Brigade-Major 33 dollars per ditto.

Commissary of Artillery 30 dollars per ditto.

Judge Advocate 20 dollars per ditto.

Colonel 50 dollars per ditto.

Lieutenant-Colonel 40 dollars per ditto.

Major 33 dollars and one-third per ditto.

Captain 20 dollars per ditto.

Lieutenant 13 dollars and one-third per ditto.

Ensign 10 dollars per ditto.

Serjeant 8 dollars per ditto.

Corporal, Drummer, and Fifer, each 7 dollars and one-third per ditto.

Private 6 dollars and two-thirds per ditto.

Adjutant 18 dollars and one-third per ditto.

Quarter Master 18 dollars and one-third per ditto.

C c

Chaplain

Chaplain 20 dollars per ditto.

That the pay of the light-infantry be the same as that in the regiment, from a captain to a private, both inclusive.

That in the artillery the pay be of a captain 26 dollars and two thirds per month.

Captain lieutenant 20 dollars per ditto.

Lieutenant first and second 18 dollars and one third per ditto.

Lieutenant fireworker 13 dollars and one third per ditto.

Serjeant 8 dollars and one third per ditto.

Corporal 7 dollars and a half per ditto.

Bombardier 7 dollars per ditto.

Matrofs 6 dollars and five sixths of a dollar per ditto.

That the appointment of provost-marshal, waggon-master, and master carpenter, be left to the commander in chief of the army, who is to fix their pay, having regard to the pay they receive in the ministerial army, and the proportion that the pay of the officers in said army bears to the pay of our officers.

William Tudor, Esq; was elected judge advocate to the army.

Resolved, That Michael Hillegas and George Clemer, Esquires, be joint treasurers of the united Colonies: That the treasurers reside in Philadelphia, and that they shall give bond with surety for the faithful performance of their office, in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to John Hancock, Henry Middleton, John Dickinson, John Alsop,

Alfop, Thomas Lynch, Richard Henry Lee, and James Wilson, Esquires, and the survivor of them in trust for the united Colonies.

That the provincial assemblies or conventions do each chuse a treasurer for their respective Colonies, and take sufficient security for the faithful performance of the trust.

That each Colony provide ways and means to sink its proportion of the bills ordered to be emitted by this Congress, in such manner as may be most effectual and best adapted to the condition, circumstances and equal mode of levying taxes in such Colony.

That the proportion or quota of such Colony be determined according to the number of inhabitants of all ages, including negroes and mulattoes in each Colony; but as this cannot at present be ascertained, that the quotas of the several Colonies be settled for the present as follows, to undergo a revision and correction, when the list of each Colony is obtained.

New-Hampshire, - - -	124069	1-half.
Massachusetts Bay, - - -	434244	
Rhode Island, - - - -	71959	1-half.
Connecticut, - - - -	248139	
New-York, - - - -	248139	
New-Jersey, - - - -	161290	1-half.
Pennsylvania, - - - -	372208	1-half.
Delaware, - - - -	37219	1-half.
Maryland, - - - -	310174	1-half.
Virginia, - - - -	496278	
North-Carolina, - - -	248139	
South-Carolina, - - -	248139	
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That each Colony pay its respective quota in four equal annual payments, the first payment to be made on or before the last day of November, which will be in the year of our Lord 1779; the second on or before the last day of November 1780; the third, on or before the last day of November, 1781, and the fourth or last, on or before the last day of November, 1782; and that for this end the several provincial assemblies or conventions provide for laying and levying taxes in their respective Provinces or Colonies, towards sinking the continental bills: That the said bills be received by the collectors in payment of such taxes, and be by the collectors paid into the hands of the provincial treasurers, with all such other monies as they may receive in lieu of the continental bills, which other monies the said provincial treasurers shall endeavour to get exchanged for continental bills, and where that cannot be done, shall send to the continental treasurers the deficiency in silver or gold, with the bills making up the quota to be sunk in that year, taking care to cut by a circular punch of an inch diameter an hole in each bill, and to cross the same, thereby to render them unpassable, though the sum or value is to remain fairly legible. And the continental treasurers, as fast as they receive the said quotas, shall with the assistance of a Committee of five persons, to be appointed by the Congress, if sitting, or by the assembly

bly or convention of the province of Pennsylvania, examine and count the continental bills, and in the presence of the said Committee burn and destroy them. And the silver and gold sent them to make up the deficiencies of quotas, they shall retain in their hands until demanded in redemption of continental bills that may be brought to them for that purpose, which bills so redeemed, they shall also burn and destroy in presence of the said Committee. And the said treasurers, whenever they have silver or gold in their hands for the redemption of continental bills, shall advertise the same, signifying that he is ready to give silver or gold for such bills to all persons requiring it in exchange.

The Provincial treasurers and collectors are to have such allowances for their respective services as shall be directed by the several Assemblies or Conventions, to be paid by their respective Province or Colony.

That the continental treasurers be allowed for their service this year five hundred dollars each.

Resolved, That the Paymaster General, Commissary General, Quarter-Master General, and every of their deputies, shall take an oath truly and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective stations.

Ordered, That the Continental Treasurers do pay to Col. William Thompson, or his order, 5000 dollars, on account, being by advance for the service of a battalion of Rifle Men under his command.

Resolved,

Resolved, That this Congress will, as soon as the public business permits, adjourn to the Fifth of September next.

Resolved, That the Congress will on Monday next consider of the state of trade, after the Tenth of next September.

Mr. M'Kean, from the Committee reported the form of a bond, to be given by the Joint Continental Treasurers.

Ordered, That the said Committee do inspect into the sufficiency of the sureties.

Adjourned till Monday, at 8 o'clock.

MONDAY, July 31, 1775.

Met according to adjournment,

The Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee, on the resolve of the House of Commons, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

The several assemblies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, having referred to the Congress a resolution of the House of Commons of Great Britain, which resolution is in these words:

Lunæ, 20 die Feb. 1775.

The House in a Committee on the American papers. Motion made, and question proposed.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, that when the General Council and Assembly, or General Court of any of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstance,

or

or situation of such Province or Colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly of such Province or Colony, and disposable by parliament) and shall engage to make provision also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such Province or Colony, it will be proper if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such Province or Colony to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose, for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such Province or Colony respectively.

The Congress took the said resolution into consideration, and are thereupon of opinion,

That the Colonies of America are entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money: That this involves a right of deliberating whether they will make any gift, for what purposes it shall be made, and what shall be its amount; and that it is a high breach of this privilege for any body of men, extraneous to their constitutions, to prescribe the purposes for which money shall be levied on them, to take to themselves the authority of judging of their conditions, circumstances, and situations

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That as the colonies possess a right of appropriating their gifts, so are they entitled at all times to enquire into their application, to see that they be not wasted among the venal and corrupt for the purpose of undermining the civil rights of the givers, nor yet be diverted to the support of standing armies, inconsistent with their freedom and subversive of their quiet. To propose therefore, as this resolution does, that the monies given by the colonies shall be subject to the disposal of parliament alone, is to propose that they shall relinquish this right of enquiry, and put it in the power of others to render their gifts ruinous, in proportion as they are liberal.

That this privilege of giving or withholding our monies, is an important barrier against the undue exertion of prerogative, which, if left altogether without controul, may be exercised to our great oppression; and all history shews how efficacious is its intercession for redress of grievances and re-establishment of rights, and how improvident it would be to part with so powerful a mediator.

We are of opinion that the proposition contained in this resolution is unreasonable and insidious; unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare without reservation, we will purchase the favour of parliament

parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favor; it is insidious, because, individual colonies, having bid and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller to great for all their powers to satisfy; are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer.

That the suspension of the exercise of their pretended power of taxation being expressly made commensurate with the continuance of our gifts, these must be perpetual to make that so. Whereas no experience has shewn that a gift of perpetual revenue secures a perpetual return of duty or of kind disposition. On the contrary, the parliament itself, wisely attentive to this observation, are in the established practice of granting their supplies from year to year only.

Desirous and determin'd as we are to consider, in the most dispassionate view every seeming advance towards a reconciliation made by the British parliament, let our brethren of Britain reflect what would have been the sacrifice to men of free spirits had even fair terms been proffered, as these insidious proposals were with circumstances of insult and defiance. A proposition to give our money, accompanied with large fleets and armies, seems address'd to our fears rather

ther than to our freedom. With what patience would Britons have received articles of treaty from any power on earth, when borne on the point of a bayonet by military plenipotentiaries?

We think the attempt unnecessary to raise upon us by force or by threats our proportional contributions to the common defence, when all know, and themselves acknowledge we have fully contributed, whenever called upon to do so in the character of freemen.

We are of opinion, it is not just that the colonies should be required to oblige themselves to other contributions, while Great-Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade. This of itself lays them under heavy contribution. To demand therefore, additional aids in the form of a tax, is to demand the double of their equal proportion, if we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with the whole world. But while the restrictions on our trade shut to us the resources of wealth, is it just we should bear all other burthens equally with those to whom every resource is open?

We conceive that the British parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil government, or administration of justice. The provisions we have made, are such as please ourselves, and are agreeable to our own circumstances: They answer the substantial purposes of government

vernment and of justice, and other purposes than these should not be answered: We do not mean that our people shall be burthened with oppressive taxes, to provide sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under colour of providing for a civil list. While parliament pursue their plan of civil government within their own jurisdiction, we also hope to pursue ours without molestation.

We are of opinion the proposition is altogether unsatisfactory, because it imports only a suspension of the mode, not a renunciation of the pretended right to tax us: because too it does not propose to repeal the several acts of parliament passed for the purpose of restraining the trade and altering the form of government in one of our Colonies; extending the boundaries and changing the government of Québec; enlarging the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty; taking from us the right of trial by a jury of the vicinage, in cases affecting both life and property; transporting us into other countries to be tried for criminal offences; exempting by mock-trial the murderers of colonists from punishment; and quartering soldiers on us in times of profound peace. Nor do they renounce the power of suspending our own legislatures, and of legislating for us themselves in all cases whatsoever. On the contrary, to shew they mean no discontinuance of injury, they pass acts at the very time of holding
out

out this proposition, for restraining the commerce and fishery of the provinces of New-England and for interdicting the trade of other Colonies with all foreign nations, and with each other. This proves unequivocally they mean not to relinquish the exercise of indiscriminate legislation over us.

Upon the whole, this proposition seems to have been held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief that there was nothing in dispute between us but the mode of levying taxes; and that the parliament have now been so good as to give up this, the Colonies are unreasonable if not perfectly satisfied: Whereas in truth, our adversaries still claim a right of demanding *ad libitum*, and of taxing us themselves to the full amount of their demand, if we do not comply with it. This leaves us without any thing we can call property. But, what is of more importance, and what in this proposal they keep out of sight, as if no such point was now in contest between us, they claim a right to alter our charters and establish laws, and leave us without any security for our lives or liberties. The proposition seems also to have been calculated more particularly to lull into fatal security our well affected fellow subjects on the other side the water, till time should be given for the operation of those arms, which a British minister pronounced would instantaneously reduce the "cowardly" sons of America to unreserved submission. But
when

when the world reflects, how inadequate to justice are these vaunted terms; when it attends to the rapid and bold succession of injuries, which, during a course of eleven years, have been aimed at these Colonies; when it reviews the pacific and respectful expostulations, which, during that whole time, were the sole arms we opposed to them; when it observes that our complaints were either not heard at all, or were answered with new and accumulated injuries; when it recollects that the minister himself, on an early occasion declared, "that he would never treat with America till he had brought her to his feet," and that an avowed partisan of ministry has more lately denounced against us the dreadful sentence "*delenda est Carthago*," that this was done in presence of a British senate, and being unreprieved by them, must be taken to be their own sentiment, (especially as the purpose has already in part been carried into execution, by their treatment of Boston and burning of Charlestown) when it considers the great armaments with which they have invaded us, and the circumstances of cruelty with which these have commenced and prosecuted hostilities; when these things, we say, are laid together and attentively considered, can the world be deceived into an opinion that we are unreasonable? or can it hesitate to believe with us, that nothing but our own exertions may defeat the ministerial sentence of death or abject submission. On

On motion made, Resolved, That Mr. Langdon, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Deane, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Crane, Doctor Franklin, Mr. Rodney, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, Mr. Hewes, Mr. Gadsden, and Mr. Hall, be a Committee in the recess of Congress, to make enquiry in all the Colonies after Virgin lead and leaden ore, and the best method of collecting, smelting and refining it.

Resolved, That the above mentioned gentlemen be a Committee in the recess of the Congress, to enquire into the cheapest and easiest methods of making salt in these Colonies.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress took under consideration the state of trade after the tenth of September, and after some debate, the same was postponed to a future day.

On motion, Resolved, That when the Congress adjourns for recess, it be adjourned to meet at Philadelphia.

Two petitions, one from sundry merchants in New-York, and the other from sundry merchants in Philadelphia, respecting the sale of teas imported before the late association, were laid before the Congress,

Ordered, To lie on the table.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock.

TUESDAY,

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TUESDAY, August 1, 1775.

Met according to adjournment.

Resolved, That the sum of five hundred thousand dollars be immediately forwarded from the continental treasury to the Paymaster General, to be applied to the use of the army in Massachusetts-Bay, in such manner as General Washington, or the commander in chief for the time being, by his warrants, shall limit and appoint; and if the above sum shall be expended before the next meeting of the Congress, then, that General Washington, or the commander in chief, for the time being, be empowered to draw upon the continental treasury for the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, in favour of the Paymaster General to be applied for the use and in the manner above mentioned.

Ordered, That the Delegates for Pennsylvania be a Committee to receive and count the above sum of 500,000 dollars, and forward the same under the care of the Delegates of Massachusetts-Bay, provided so much is now ready in the treasury. If that is not the case, then to receive, count and forward by the said Delegates what is ready and the remainder by the first opportunity in the safest and best manner.

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding 175,000 dollars be paid to the provincial Convention of New-York, to be applied towards the discharge of the monies advanced and

and the debts contracted for the public service, by the said provincial Convention and the Committee of Albany, in pursuance of the directions of this Congress; and that the said provincial Convention account to this Congress at their next meeting for the application of the said money.

Resolved, That the treasurers be, and they are hereby ordered to pay to the Delegates of the colony of Connecticut, viz. Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane, Esquires, the sum of 50,000 dollars, to be by them paid unto the Governor and Company of the said colony, in part of the sums by them disbursed in the continental service: the said Governor and Company to account therefor.

Resolved, That the sum of 100,000 dollars be immediately forwarded from the continental treasury to the Paymaster General, to be applied to the use of the army in the New-York department, in such manner as General Schuyler by his warrant shall limit and appoint; and that if the above sum shall be expended before the next meeting of the Congress, then, that General Schuyler, or the commander in chief, for the time being in that department, be empowered to draw upon the continental treasury for a further sum not exceeding 200,000 dollars, to be applied for the use, and in the manner above mentioned.

Resolved,

Resolved, That the sum of 16,000 dollars be paid to the Delegates of the colony of Pennsylvania, in full, for the like sum by them borrowed by order of the Congress, on the 3d of June last, for the use of the Continent.

Resolved, That the sum of 10,000 dollars be placed in the hands of the Delegates of Pennsylvania, or any three of them, for contingent services, and that out of the same be paid the expences incurred for raising and arming the rifle companies, and for expences and other small charges, of which the Congress have not been able to procure exact accounts; and that the said Committee do lay before the Congress, at their next meeting, an account of their proceedings in that matter.

Whereas at a former Congress it was resolved, that if certain acts of parliament, in the continental association enumerated and complained of, should not be repealed on or before the 10th day of september, 1775, the inhabitants of these united colonies would not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland or the West-Indies; and as some doubts have arisen with respect to the true spirit and construction of said resolve: To the end that such doubts may be removed,

Resolved, That under the prohibition, in the said Association contained, to export

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to,

to, or import from, the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, this Congress intends to comprize all exportation to, or importation from, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney and Mann, and every European island and settlement within the British dominions; and that under the denomination of the West-Indies, this Congress means to comprehend all the West-India islands, British and foreign, to whatever state, power or prince belonging, or by whomsoever governed, and also the summer islands, Bahama islands, Berbicia and Surinam on the Main, and every island and settlement within the latitude of the southern line of Georgia and the Equator.

Adjourned to Tuesday, the 5th of september next.

The above is a Copy of the JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS of the CONGRESS, from their Meeting on the 10th of May, to this time.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Speedily will be Published,

(Sold by J. ALMON, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.)

A MAP of the Middle British Colonies
in NORTH - AMERICA.

First published by Mr. LEWIS EVANS, of
Philadelphia, in 1755; and since corrected and
improved, as also extended, with the Addition of
New-England, &c. and bordering Parts of *Canada*;
from actual Surveys now lying at the Board of Trade.

By T. POWNALL, M.P.

Late Governor, &c. &c. of his MAJESTY'S Provinces of
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY and SOUTH-CAROLINA, and
Lieutenant-Governor of NEW-JERSEY.

WITH

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION of such Parts
of NORTH - AMERICA as are contained in the
MAP.

Extract from the Preface. "THE Western Division of this Map was
published at the commencement of the late war in America. It was
found by the officers and servants of the crown to have that degree of
precision, that it was used by them both in England and in America,
and served every practical purpose during the war. Those who have
served and travelled in America, have had few occasions of correcting
it; on the contrary, its exactness as far as a general Map means to
go, as far as a Map on this small scale could go, has generally been
confirmed by experience on the spot. In any transactions since the
war, where local precision has been necessary, this Map has been
referred to, not simply in private, but public transactions, such as
the great Indian purchase and cession. The boundaries by which the
propositions for the purchase of lands on the Ohio were made to the
Boards of Trade and Treasury, were marked on and settled by this
Map. When the servants of the Crown proposed in the House of
Commons, the clause for the limits of the government of Quebec,
and when the line of those limits was there opposed, both sides,
with this Map in their hands, argued from it.

I do not know that any other General Map of America has been
published since this. There have been some Maps of particular Pro-
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vinces published since. That of South-Carolina, by Mr. JAMES COOK, has every geographical merit, and an uncommon degree of topographical precision. That of North-Carolina, by Mr. COLLAT, seems also to have great merit; no parts of this fall within this Map of the Middle Colonies.

I have carefully compared this by Mr. HENRY's Map of Virginia, engraved and published by JEFFERY's. In these parts which come within the bounds of this our Map, I do not only not find any improvements or additions of particulars there; but, although on so large a scale, it is still less particular than this. Trace any Journal of Travels, that very accurate one of Mr. BURNABY's, for instance, on the two Maps, and I will put the issue of their merit on the correspondence of the Map with the fact. In this the Geographer will find the courses and distance of the roads; every tavern and ferry; and every gap where the ridges are passed; he will look for these in vain in the large Map, and will not even find Winchester.

Of New-England there has been no new Map published, and as yet none so accurate as this, so far as it went in the first edition. What was there wanting is now added, and for the first time published from actual surveys lying in the Board of Trade, which the Earl of Dartmouth permitted me to have copied for this purpose. The new parts which I have added, are plotted down in the form in which I think every Map which can offer to give the face of the country, should be laid down, giving an exact Map of the natural face of the country, and not in default of that filling up what should be a Map with writing. Instead of writing, I have put figures, and the writing is in the margin and other blank places, where the face of the country is not pretended to be given. The surveys which tend to give the Map its accuracy in these parts, were chiefly made by Captain HOLLAND, or by his Deputies, under his direction.

From the account above, I should hope that the Public will think, that this publication at the commencement of the present very interesting period of events, to which the fate of this country verges fast, is not ill-timed, but that it may be (as the last was found to be) of use and information.

Many tracks which the reader will see marked on the Map, and which were, when it was first published, mere Indian paths through the wilderness, are now in the course of a very few years become great waggon-roads.

Et quæ modo fuerat semita, facta via.

Some Indian settlements, being merely a collection of wigwams, must now be marked as county towns. Many other particulars marked in the Map, and noticed in the analysis, which were twenty years ago matter of practical information and useful to the service, ceasing, perhaps, now to be of use in that way; may yet be amusing, as matters of curious antiquity, become so at this early period. It will be curious in a very few years, as the face of the country changes,
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and is totally altered to view in this Map, and to read in this analysis what it was in its natural state, and how the settlements began to expand, and had extended themselves in twenty years.

This Map, soon after it came to England, was, in a most audacious manner, pirated by the late THOMAS JEFFERY'S, under a false pretence of improvements. He was so totally ignorant of the principles on which the original was formed, that although he traced the line of the roads and rivers in the usual way, yet it can scarce be called a copy. The mountains in America, which give the real features to the face of it, run in ridges of a specific direction—do in places here and there run up into peaks—do in others end abruptly in knobs and bluff points—do interlock and have gaps—all which particulars are in the original Map, with a careful and scrupulous attention plotted and marked down; as also where these ridges spread into hilly land. The geographer, or the officer, will look in vain for this precision in the pirated copy. The blundering copyist thought, that the filling the places, where mountains were said to be, with the Engraver's common marks scratched in at random, was sufficient. In some parts, where the writing directed his tool, he has followed the ridges, but *sans savoir*; and even there he knew not how to mark their specific range. So far as respects the face of the country, this thing of JEFFERY'S might as well be a Map of the face of the moon. Further, in the original there was observed a punctilious caution not to deceive; the parts which are drawn from report and computation, and collected from Journals, are in the original, and in this our Map engraved in a slighter manner, and very differently, from those parts which are laid down from actual surveys: neither the eye, nor the ideas, nor the scrupulous spirit of the copyist, went to the marking this; and all parts stand equal in authority in his pirated map.

The plate of this blundering copy has, in the course of trade, by purchase, fallen into the hands of Mr. SAYER, of *Fleet-street*, a man of reputation, in a very extensive line of business. He very honourably told me, That if the plate stood as a single article in his shop, he would destroy it directly; but that it made part of an Atlas already published by him, and was also part of another very soon to be published by him, which had cost many thousand pounds; that he did not know how to take it out of these collections: I can only say, it will disgrace any collection in which it stands, and that I am sorry it is to disgrace any, coming from a shop in which there are so many valuable collections of Maps and Charts.

Albemarle-street, Nov. 22, 1775."

Neither this improved Map, nor Analysis, are published with any view of profit to the Editor; if any should accrue, it will be given to Mr. EVANS'S daughter and her children.

An Advertisement of an AMERICAN ATLAS having been inserted in the public Papers, purporting that the said Atlas is composed from Surveys made by Order of Government, by Captain HOLLAND, &c. the following is extracted from Captain HOLLAND'S Answer to that Advertisement.

“ I THINK it necessary the Public should be informed that I never gave, or consented to the giving, of any Copies of the Surveys, made by me or under my Direction, as Surveyor-General of Lands for the Northern District of North-America, for the Purpose of Publication; nor have any Copies been taken for such Purpose, from the said Survey, after being lodged at the Board of Trade, to my Knowledge, except what have been taken in the latter End of last Year, for the Use of Governor POWNALL, by Authority of the Earl of Dartmouth; nor have I at any Time published, or given my Consent to the publishing of any Plan, Map, or Survey, now extant, that bears my Name.

SAMUEL HOLLAND.”

BOOKS printed for J. ALMON, in *Piccadilly*.

THE Parliamentary Register; or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the Lords and Commons: Containing, an Account of the most interesting Speeches and Motions, accurate Copies of Bills, Protests, Letters and Papers; the most material Evidence, Papers, &c. laid before, and offered to Parliament, during the First Session; with proper Indexes, &c. Two Volumes 13s.

The American Charters, which were published occasionally in this Work, may be had separately, or bound up with the Work.

It is desired of Gentlemen who want any particular Numbers to complet their Sets, that they would order them as speedily as possible.

The Parliamentary Register, being the Proceedings and Debates of the Second Session, is now publishing in Numbers, price one Shilling each.

The Remembrancer; or Impartial Repository of Public Events. Published Monthly, price one Shilling each Number.

The late interesting Advices from *America*, suggested the utility of a Periodical Collection of the best Accounts of every important public Transaction. Many Events have happened during the present Summer, which probably will be the subject of Discussion next Winter. These Accounts being published in the News Papers, are frequently mislaid after the Day of Publication; and when afterwards wanted, are sometimes very difficult to recover: besides, being mixed with the common Occurrences of the Day, and published in the large Folio Size,

render the Mode of Preservation awkward disagreeable, and almost impossible. In brief the Plan of this Work is, To select from all the Public Prints, the best Account of every material Publick Event; to print it in Octavo, and at the End of every Volume, to give a copious Index. The First Volume contains the Year 1775. The Second Volume is now publishing in Numbers.

A Narrative of the Proceedings and Debates of the Parliament of Ireland; including an authentic List of the Penfions on that Establishment; an accurate State of the Finances, and of all the public Accounts of that Kingdom, during the Fifth Session of the Second Parliament held at Dublin, on the Tenth Day of October, 1775. It was in this Session, that the Dispute with America was, for the first Time, introduced into the Parliament of Ireland. Published in Numbers, price one Shilling each.

The Debates and Proceedings of the House of Commons, for 1773 and 1774. Two Volumes, which complete that Work to the Dissolution of the last Parliament, 10s. 6d. in Boards.

* * * The Noblemen and Gentlemen, who are in Possession of any Volumes of this Work, are desired to complet their Sets as soon as possible; because there will be no more detached Volumes to be had, when the present Impression is disposed of.

The nine Volumes of this Collection of the Debates and Proceedings of the House of Commons, from 1745 to 1774, bound 2l. 14s.

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